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Loncar Addresses CSCE Ministerial Talks

AU1603180089 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report on speech by Budimir Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, at the CSCE ministerial meeting in Vienna on 8 March: "All European Countries Could Reduce Their Armed Forces"]

[Text] "It is true that only time can confirm or refute the accuracy of the assessment on the exceptional importance of the previous meeting in Vienna. Europe expects much from the upcoming negotiations, both from the continuation of the Stockholm conference on measures to reinforce trust, security, and disarmament in Europe, and from the meeting of 23 countries on conventional armed forces, within the framework of the CSCE. This is rightly expected. The international atmosphere has never been so favorable for substantive and major steps to strengthen peace and security. I do not want to reiterate the well-known circumstances that contributed to this climate, nor the results that have been achieved. I would only like, if you allow me, to inform this session on behalf of Yugoslavia, as a member of the Nonaligned Movement, on the movement's almost undivided resolve to carry out its own modernization under the new conditions—to which the movement had significantly contributed itself—to act in a more stimulating and creative way toward positive trends in international relations.

"The main question is how to make the current positive trends permanent and stable, for this is now not only a matter of relaxing tensions and of detente, which in the past used to be provisional and on several occasions broken. We have now entered a space whose coordinates are wider and more definite: We have embarked on the process of disarmament, a system which contains measures for trust and inspection, a serious reduction in the ideological level and nature of interrelations, and the reaffirmation of human rights as the vital dimension of international trust. In fact, in practice we have already gone beyond the old notion of detente.

"What should be the new stage of negotiations on measures needed to strengthen trust and security under these condition? Can one still think in terms of a routine approach when we have conditions for a bolder and more creative approach? Let us go further.

"What does this involve?

"First, a balanced development of a system of measures; in other words, we need to make up for a delay concerning, above all, the measures to limit military activities. The Stockholm document only deals with these in a modest way. The value of a comprehensive and regular exchange of views on military activities cannot be questioned, but reducing their level and intensity is even more important.

"The second factor refers to the extension of measures concerning the military forces' independent naval and air activities. As long as military activities freely take place in the seas and oceans surrounding Europe, and as long as there is no system of information, control, or restriction, then peace, security, and trust will remain on shaky ground. This particularly refers to places where there is an excessive presence of the great powers' naval forces, such as in the Mediterranean.

"After all, let us today try to answer the classic question: Do countries arm themselves because there is no trust, or is the lack of trust a consequence of the accumulation of arms? Mutual trust is directly linked to the original and ultimate aims of us all. The central feature of the present era is in fact the global and growing interdependence that renders completely anachronistic the logic of one side's difficulties and regression benefiting the other side. The fact is that, in relations between the superpowers and blocs, as well as within the CSCE process, we first attained measures for trust, and then measures to control arms, and only then the first measures concerning real disarmament. However, it has been demonstrated that we cannot halt the apocalyptic advance of arms with measures of trust, arms control, and disarmament alone.

"The nonaligned and neutral countries, which entirely rely on their own defense forces, are profoundly interested in trust, disarmament, and the stabilization of the situation in Europe, not because they have been, by the nature of their status, 'deprived' of the protection of one or the other alliances, if one can at all speak of this, but because their interests are identical with joint and general European interests. This is why they can still be a catalyst in the search for new solutions. Be assured that in future negotiations, Yugoslavia, as an active participant in the Stockholm conference, will, jointly with other nonaligned and neutral countries which are participants in the CSCE talks, contribute as much as possible to the substantive and efficient work.

"Yugoslavia is not a participant in the negotiations on reducing conventional armed forces, but is, as a European country, directly interested in their main aim: the creation of a stable and secure equilibrium of conventional forces at an ever lower level. For this reason, Yugoslavia will cooperate most closely with all the participants in the negotiations, regardless of what grouping they belong to. This is because it considers the opportunity to bridge some old divisions to be one of the most precious results of the CSCE talks."

Method of Negotiations

"The method of negotiations involving only a few countries that participate in the CSCE is a new method, and the extent of its purposefulness and usefulness will only be demonstrated in the future. It can be inferred that those bloc countries that face each other in central Europe will be the first ones to start reducing their forces, which means the negotiations, too. But this is conditional, because we admit that this kind of solution does not, from a long-term point of view, correspond to the need for an all-around treatment of security in Europe—to an indivisible type of security, which is one of principles contained in the Final Act.

"The essence of the information links between the negotiations of the 23 countries and the CSCE does not lie in its sheer form, but above all in the content that it will be given. This is because as we are declaring ourselves in favor of protecting the interests of the security of all CSCE participants, this would represent a chance to hold talks within the group of 35 countries in a way that would contribute to a successful outcome of negotiations among the group of 23 countries."

Against Subordination and Group Discipline

"Our appeal must therefore be both joint and clear—let us do our utmost so that both negotiating processes are carried out in a creative spirit, so that they are productive, so that they do not take a course of sterile rivalry. Our experience does not allow us to have any illusions that the negotiations are going to be easy and simple, but our experiences teach us that we should create the best possible conditions for them. In this context, allow me to assess the USSR's announced reduction of its military forces and arms in Europe—and those of some other Warsaw Pact member states—as very important.

"The process of security and disarmament in Europe would indeed receive not only an additional but a truly significant potential if all the countries simply reduced their conventional forces and weapons. Let that be, shall we say, by 10 percent. Nonaligned Yugoslavia, let me remind you, took this type of step last year by reducing its total forces by 12 percent.

"The process of disarmament, with all of its political-psychological and economic causes and consequences, as well as the measures of trust, inevitably leads to a freer and more democratic organization not only of relations among different countries, but also of relations inside individual countries. Under conditions of a reduced or eliminated threat, it is increasingly difficult to justify the necessity for internal pressures and stagnation by referring to external threats; the credibility of group discipline and subordination is constantly decreasing.

"The Helsinki project is not only an exalted ideal. Europe is closer to it than ever before," stated Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, at the conclusion of his speech.

Further on Continuing Vienna CFE Session, Talks

CSSR, USSR Delegates Interviewed

AU1303152389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Mar 89 pp 1, 7

[Marek Dobrovolny, Jozef Janto Vienna dispatch: "Finding a Common Language"]

[Excerpts] Vienna (from our special correspondents)—Following the 3-day marathon of speeches by the ministers of foreign affairs, the separate talks by participants in the two follow-up events of the Vienna CSCE meeting began in Vienna's Hofburg Palace on Thursday [9 March]. The Czechoslovak delegation at both forums is headed by Ambassador Ladislav Balcar. [passage omitted]

Prior to the start of the talks, L. Balcar granted an interview to our correspondents. When asked what he considered to be the most important task of the talks now starting, he emphasized that all 35 states participating in the CSCE should find a common language to work out measures that would not be a mere continuation of what was agreed upon in Stockholm, but rather something that would be on a qualitatively higher level. These measures will have to include matters such as limits on military exercises, more detailed information on completed maneuvers, and the like.

Some Western states have taken a reserved attitude toward the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the two military alliances, L. Balcar said.

Several news conferences were also held in the Hofburg. At one of them, O. Grinevskiy, who heads the Soviet delegation, evaluated the opening session of the ministers of foreign affairs. [passage omitted]

Asked by RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA correspondents which problems might arise during the negotiations, Grinevskiy said:

"NATO claims that it is necessary to reduce the numbers of tanks, artillery systems, and armored personnel carriers. Indeed, these types of arms represent the danger of a surprise attack. But does this apply just to these arms? Let us consider first and foremost the infantry. There has not been any offensive operation in history in which infantry troops did not take part. Or let us consider air forces. The United States itself experienced Japan's surprise air attack on Pearl Harbor, which confronted it with the reality of war. And today we even more have to consider air forces as a vehicle for surprise attacks. We talk about changing the structure of troops from an offensive to a defensive one, but in NATO's concepts, the implementation of this change is being deferred until the distant future."

CSSR's Balcar Addresses Session

AU1603110589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Mar 89 p 7

[CTK report: "We Are Interested in Reducing Military Potentials; Head of the Czechoslovak Delegation Speaks at Vienna Negotiations"]

[Text] Vienna—The Monday [13 March] session of the Vienna negotiations of 28 Warsaw Pact and NATO member states on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe was addressed by the heads of delegations of the Hungarian People's Republic, Britain, the Socialist Republic of Romania, Spain, the CSSR, and the USSR.

Ambassador Ladislav Balcar, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, termed as promising the framework which is now taking shape in the solution of certain key issues. In our view, it is based on the preparedness of both sides to solve the armament problem—which represents the potential for a sudden attack and for conducting extensive offensive operations—and on the declared effort to reduce and limit conventional armed forces to an equal collective level. As we see it, it is also based on the bilateral tendency to evade disputes over the numerical strength of conventional armed forces and arms, which lead nowhere.

He then stated that, in view of its geographical position, Czechoslovakia is vitally interested in a substantial reduction of all the most destabilizing military potentials. In this context he pointed out that certain NATO delegations are coming to the talks with a unilateral, narrow understanding of this extensive set of problems, one viewed solely from reducing and limiting tanks, artillery, and armored personnel vehicles. However, that represents only a partial solution.

Balcar stressed that the typical instruments of a surprise attack include, inter alia, tactical front air forces and combat helicopters, which must be included in the entire reduction package from the very start—in other words, as does the proposal submitted by the Warsaw Pact member states. He concluded by saying that this factor is a particularly sensitive one for countries situated along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO member states. "In view of Czechoslovakia's geographical location, we are deeply interested in strengthening stability and security in this area in particular. I want to stress that the people living here know best that this goal can only be reached through increased efforts. That is why we see nothing wrong with the idea of adopting certain measures along this line, especially preventive measures that would strikingly reduce the possibility of a surprise attack."

Hungarian Benefits From CSCE

LD1603094489 Budapest MTI in English 0732 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 16 (MTI)—Hungary would benefit from a general agreement, expected from the latest talks in Vienna, via the expansion of the confidence building measures passed by the Stockholm conference and proved successful in practice, as well as through further measures, said Ambassador David Meiszter, head of the Hungarian delegation, at the Wednesday [15 March] plenary session of the conference on confidence and security building convened by the 35 states of the Helsinki process last week.

As pointed out by the Hungarian diplomat, this potential agreement of the "thirty-fives"—together with the two military blocks' control of conventional arms—would help eliminate the elements of suspicion and hostility in the East-West security matters, replacing them with a new partnership based on mutual security. Then, the ambassador proceeded to analyze the general proposal put forward by the socialist countries, including Hungary. He stresses that apart form the limitation of major military exercises and measures affecting the air force, the Hungarian delegation is ready to make a stand for the development of interstate and human relations, at a time when the military contacts between the CMEA and NATO member states, as well as the neutral states, have become crucial elements of the confidence building process.

CSSR Envoy to Geneva Arms Talks Cited

LD1603142389 Prague CTK in English 1356 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Geneva March 16 (CTK)—Head of a Czechoslovak delegation to a plenary session of the Conference on Disarmament Vratislav Vajnar spoke here today about the results of an experiment aimed to verify whether chemical weapons are produced in the civilian chemical industry.

He generalized some of the results of the experiment, and said that control of the civilian chemical industry based on principles which are going to be included in a prepared convention on a general and complete ban on chemical weapons and their elimination, is possible and reliable.

The Czechoslovak representative concluded that, according to the government's statement from January 5 this year, Czechoslovakia is ready to provide information on laboratories, enterprises and other facilities which work with chemicals and which might apply to the convention.

Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference Continues

Ivascu Leads Romanian Delegation

AU1603105789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Mar 89 p 6

[Text] Budapest, 13 Mar (AGERPRES)—The proceedings of the 81st congress of the Interparliamentary Union [IPU] have begun at the Budapest Congress Center.

In his message addressed to the conference, the UN secretary general stressed the importance of close cooperation between the United Nations and the IPU on issues of peace and international cooperation.

The Romanian delegation to the conference is led by Marin Ivascu, vice chairman of the Grand National Assembly and chairman of the Romanian group within the IPU.

Hungary's Szuros Speaks

LD1303205989 Budapest MTI in English 1611 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—As reported, the 81st conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union started in Budapest on Monday [13 March].

The conference was opened by Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council. He stressed that, 'We have a lot to say on the items on the agenda, including the protection of children's rights, the fight against all manifestations of racial discrimination and apartheid, guaranteeing the individual and collective rights of nationalities and minorities, as well as the political, economic and social situation of the world'. He wished the participants, on behalf of the Hungarian people, fruitful discussions.

Sandor Barcs, president of the Hungarian section of the IPU, pointed out that Hungarian legislation had been affiliated to the Inter-parliamentary Union from the very beginning, in other words, for about a century.

Conference participants were greeted by Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly, on behalf of parliament and the Hungarian section of the IPU.

Mr Szuros underlined that, 'The changes taking place in our age set the questions of human and freedom rights in a different light from before, for they are becoming more and more important in every society. The massive violation of human rights is unanimously condemned by the civilized world. Not only states, but also various international organizations, are raising their voices against these infringements. We consider it a matter of vital importance that mutual solidarity should be shown by making it an obligation to speak out whenever the rights of an individual or a group are violated.

'We maintain that this also applies to discrimination against national minorities which is cutting at the roots of their very existence. The legal protection of the individual and collective rights of minorities is still a topical issue in Europe, as well as other places of the world,' he said, stressing that the Hungarian minority was the largest ethnic group outside the mother country in Europe.

'I trust that the 81st conference of the Inter-parliamentary Union will examine the question thoroughly and carefully, and pass a resolution to help terminate all kinds of discrimination against, and suppresssion of, nationalities and ethnic minorities, so that their rights be observed,' said Mr Szuros.

Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations, sent a greetings message to the conference. Read out by Jan Martenson, deputy [UN] general secretary, the message pointed out the importance of the items included on the agenda and the role of the Union in settling international conflicts.

Daouda Sow, president of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, said 'The Union is very pleased that the coming discussions are being hosted by Budapest, since Hungary is one of the nine founding member states, as well as an active participant in interparliamentary cooperation. We feel great interest in and approval of the remarkable political changes under way in the country, and we would like to express and convey our encouragement and best wishes to the Hungarian people.'

The work of the conference started with the plenary session on Monday afternoon. The discussions are to include, as a separate item on the agenda, the international efforts taken to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis, said member of parliament Peter Horn, head of the eight strong Hungarian delegation.

Peter Horn said 'Ninety delegations have arrived at the conference so far. The largest come from Great Britain, the FRG and Japan, but there is considerable representation from the United States, the Republic of Korea, Canada, Finland and France. Present are the United Nations Organization with its important specialized agencies, such as UNICEF, the International Labour Organization, the World Bank and the International Agricultural Development Fund. The European Parliament is also among the invited guests, together with delegations from the Palestinian National Council and regional parliamentary associations.'

CSSR's Marko on Middle East

AU1603174889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Mar 89 pp 1, 5

["Vil."-signed dispatch: "The Path of Peace in the Middle East; J. Marko Addresses the 81st IPU Conference"]

[Text] Budapest (our correspondent)—The 81st conference of the IPU continued its work on Tuesday [14 March] by discussing the third item on the agenda:

parliamentary tasks in resolving the situation in the Middle East. Yasir 'Arafat, who will be in Budapest during the conference, has also been invited to the session. The Tuesday session was also addressed by Jan Marko, first deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak parliamentary group that is leading the Czechoslovak delegation.

Speaking about the contribution to be made by the parliaments toward convening an international Middle East peace conference, he said: The unresolved conflict in the Middle East, which has been poisoning the international atmosphere for more than 40 years and which has brought immense suffering to the peoples of that region, especially the Palestinian people, has entered a stage which makes the peaceful settlement of the conflict an extremely urgent task of the entire international community.

Today nobody can doubt that a military solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict is out of the question, and that one must seek a solution to the complicated problems of the Middle East crisis and its core—the Palestinian issue—by peaceful, political means.

In our view, the substance of the inevitable historical compromise between Israel and the Arabs is best expressed by the formula "peace for returned territories."

This demands mutual concessions by both rival sides. At the same time, we realize that the necessary political atmosphere for enforcing this solution and the essential atmosphere of mutual trust between the Israelis and the Arabs are still nonexistent.

Many paths and possibilities lead to the overcoming of this "psychological barrier," which prevents the beginning of a real peace process in the Middle East. The Palestinians have taken a binding step in this direction by recognizing the appropriate UN General Assembly resolutions at the Algiers session of the Palestinian National Council. This constructive, courageous, and realistic approach has not yet met with an adequate reply from the Israeli Government.

Public figures in Czechoslovakia, including many of our parliamentary deputies, have contributed to the international effort by arranging a so-called model international Middle East conference in Prague in December 1988. The participants in the conference agreed that the solution of the crisis must mean a return to the recognition of international legal norms anchored in the UN Charter and UN resolutions. It is solely on this basis that reconciliation can be achieved. The starting point for resolving the issue must be a mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestinians, and the recognition of the Palestinians' right to a sovereign state on the historical territory of Palestine.

All participants in the Prague conference unambiguously spoke in favor of speedily convening an international conference on the Middle East, and they conveyed their attitude to the UN secretary general in a special letter. **Regardless of the difference of opinions, the discussion between the Israelis and Palestinians showed that a considerable positive shift has recently taken place in the political thinking of both sides.** During the Prague talks, both delegations showed a striking political will to resolve the conflict based on realistic, constructive foundations, to strive to achieve mutual understanding, and to strive to live together on the territory of historical Palestine in peace while maintaining good relations. **The Czechoslovak delegation believes that the international community and the IPU should emphatically support the constructive approaches that are taking root on both sides, and also increasingly strive to achieve a change in this direction in the official stands of the Israeli Government.**

At the IPU session, Eva Zeleznikova, deputy chairperson of the People's Chamber, delivered a speech in the general debate on child protection and children's rights. In her speech she dealt with Czechoslovakia's fulfillment of the commitments following from the UN Declaration on Children's Rights.

Minority Rights Discussed

*LD1503222289 Budapest MTI in English
1436 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—The 81st Inter-Parliamentary Union conference continued its work on Wednesday [15 March], on the Hungarian national holiday, in Budapest. Many foreign guests, parliamentary MPs viewed the ceremonies held to mark the anniversary of March 15. On the proposal of MP I. Maclean from New Zealand, the morning session adjourned earlier, so that the delegates 'be able to express their solidarity with the Hungarian people, who today march by recalling the memory of Sandor Petofi, and pay their respect to the Hungarian national holiday.'

On Wednesday, the legislators from some 100 countries began discussion of the next point on the agenda: ways to promote the complete dismantling of colonialization, the elimination of racism, racial segregation, and the enforcement of the individual and collective rights of the minorities, the ethnic minorities.

Earlier, the conference ended its debate on the new international covenant which is to set down the rights of children, and the related tasks of parliaments. As very many MPs indicated their wish to contribute to the debate, a night session was included in the agenda of the conference. The editing committee to formulate the common position of the legislators was elected after the debate, which ended early Wednesday morning. Members of the committee include Academician Janos Szentagothai, member of the Hungarian IPU group. The final position will be approved on the closing day of the conference.

Many national groups and groups of states submitted their resolution proposals and memoranda in writing, prior to Wednesday's debate. The memorandum submitted by the Hungarian group of IPU notes, among others: It is of fundamental importance from the aspect of world peace and security that the enforcement of all human rights, the full realization of political, civic, economic, social and cultural rights be comprehensively ensured in a constitutional manner in all places. The memorandum takes a stand, in detail, for the dismantling of colonialization, and in all current issues of the fight against the remnants of racism and racial segregation, and deals separately with the enforcement of the minority rights.

'The Hungarian parliamentary group receives with deep regret the facts, manifestations, and political steps which indicate that discrimination against minorities, the ethnic minorities is increasing, particularly in Europe', states, among others, the Hungarian memorandum, which recalls the related position of Pope John Paul II., and the resolution of the Hungarian National Assembly, which welcomed the remarks of the head of the Catholic Church. 'The Hungarian National Assembly stressed that ensuring the conditions of minority existence is the task and obligation of all individual states. It holds these rights, including the rights of communities, the right to foster the minority culture, the right of freedom of relations maintained with identical minorities living in other countries, the right of freedom of religion, to be of particular importance, and has called on the government to follow with attention the state of persons belonging to the Hungarian minority who live outside the country's borders, and to express that the nation feels responsibility for them.'

The memorandum of the Hungarian parliamentary group proposes that the Inter-parliamentary Union take a stand in this issue, that it request the governments of the individual countries to comprehensively examine the issue as the problems appearing in this field increasingly disturb the public, and the inter-state relations both in East and West Europe. The governments should examine ways to provide international guarantees to enforce the rights of the minorities, to work out a comprehensive system of standards for evaluating the conduct of the individual countries in this field. The Union should press the governments of the states participating in the competent committees of the United Nations Human Rights Committee to speed up work on the elaboration of a declaration setting down the rights of the national minorities, and to submit this to the UN General Assembly as soon as possible. The proposal also calls for the follow-up meetings of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to follow with attention the situation of the minorities.

Several other resolution proposals also deal with the minority issue. For instance, the Swiss parliamentary group proposes that the United Nations set up a separate specialized agency to examine the situation of the minorities and the ethnic conflicts. The Soviet parliamentary group calls on the governments of the individual countries to ensure the enforcement of the rights of the national and ethnic minorities with firm steps, that they immediately eliminate all kinds of restrictions, and ensure the minorities all the rights enjoyed by all other citizens. The draft resolution of the FRG parliamentary group also wishes to encourage the governments of the individual countries to prevent discrimination against the minorities, irrespective of whether this is done with legal means or in other ways, and to ensure the suitable conditions for the minorities to maintain their national and cultural identity, for the enforcement of their human rights.

Wednesday's debate was addressed by Rabbi Alfred Schoner, MP of the Hungarian National Assembly, who welcomed the participants of the inter-parliamentary conference on behalf of the Hungarian Jews. Rabbi Schoner discussed the history of the Hungarian Jews, their role in the life of the country, and their persecution. He stressed: The spring of 1945 opened a new chapter for the Jews, in Hungary, equal rights and the freedom of religion were lawfully ensured them. 'In accordance with our articles of faith, we take an active part in the building of the country, and form an integral part of the Hungarian nation. Within the Jews of the world, we raise our voice against discrimination, oppression, and the violation of the rights of the minorities', Rabbi Schoner said, among others.

Delegates Criticize Romania

LD1703000389 Budapest MTI in English
2043 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 16 (MTI)—On Thursday [16 March] the delegates to the 81st inter-parliamentary conference in Budapest concluded their debate on the ways and means the parliaments of the world should help eliminate the colonial system and all forms of racism and racial segregation, and contribute to the enforcement of the rights of national minorities. With regard to the latter, several Western delegates criticized Romania for its policy towards the national minorities, its plan of village razing, and the violation of human rights. Countries to criticize included the United States, Austria, Switzerland, New Zealand and Portugal. The Romanian delegates, making use of the right of answer, rejected criticism by saying that Romania has granted equal rights to the national minorities. The statement, however, was challenged by several contributors.

On the basis of the debate, a drafting committee is to compile the draft resolution of the inter-parliamentary conference which will be adopted at the closing session.

In the afternoon, the delegates began to discuss the last item on the agenda: a global survey of the social, economic and political situation. On Friday, the conference will be addressed by Yasir 'Arafat.

Grosz Discusses Changes in Hungary

LD1603233989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Remarks by Karoly Grosz recorded]

[Text] The Hungarian People's Republic is a member of the Warsaw Pact and will remain so as long as there are military blocs in Europe. At the same time, we are partners in every effort aimed at eliminating the military political alliance systems. This was stated by Karoly Grosz in the address he delivered to the IPU conference today.

[Unidentified correspondent] Karoly Grosz immediately highlighted in his introduction the fact that the participants in this conference have visited Hungary in an extraordinarily exciting period. The change, the renwal, is full of debates and contradictions, but it could also bear witness to a very promising period, if even only for a short time.

[Grosz] How should Hungary fit into the community of peoples of the coming centuries? It is to this that we seek an answer today, all of us, the National Assembly and the government, the MSZMP and other political organizations, all of society. I see the future of Hungarian political development as lying in the democratic self-management of communities, starting from local councils to the National Assembly, which itself is an important factor in our transforming reality, and at the same time the expression of our political conception.

[Correspondent] Karoly Grosz went on to stress that today it can clearly be seen that whether or not the world accepts us as a partner depends on our actual performance:

[Grosz] Our chief endeavor is full openness toward the world. In interstate relations we start out not from ideological considerations, but rather from the realities of the age and our national interests.

[Correspondent] The MSZMP general secretary highlighted that in the future only an increase in the economic bases can create the conditions for political cooperation.

[Grosz] One of the determining factors of European development in the next decade is the community of West European states. We are adherents of mutually advantageous cooperation. From our principled stand we urge the expansion of political and humanitarian relations. As for the economic field, we are striving to guarantee the free flow of capital, labor, and expertise.

Scientific Session Against Perestroyka Held

Foto Cami Speaks

AU1603210989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Speech by Foto Cami, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, at 16 March Tirana scientific session on restructuring]

[Text] [Begin Cami recording] Our party has waged a consistent and principled struggle against modern revisionism, and particularly against Soviet revisionism, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, represents the most complete theory and practice of the revisionist counterrevolution and its most dangerous variant. This struggle will continue as long as capitalism and imperialism exist, a part of which is represented by revisionism, this dangerous enemy of the revolution and socialism. Therefore, the struggle of the AWP [Albanian Workers Party] against modern revisionism and all its variants has been and remains a struggle of historical importance, as Comrade Ramiz stressed at the Ninth AWP Congress.

On this front, we are currently dealing with a new situation, which presents new problems and tasks. [end Cami recording]

Among other things, Comrade Foto Cami stressed that due to the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism, to be followed by the Eurocommunist and Chinese variants, the revolutionary process was interrupted. The revisionist counterrevolution, which was a result of the bourgeois pressure from within and the pressure of imperialism from outside, caused considerable confusion in the communist and liberation movements. The bourgeoisie and imperialism achieved their first victory and began to change the balance of power to their own profit.

The great polemic with the modern revisionists, to which our party, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, made a contribution that will remain indelible in history, compelled the revisionists to try to preserve the Marxist and socialist image, in order not to disclose their counterrevolutionary nature. The situation has now evolved to a further point. The revisionists have torn away their masks and have come out openly with the capitalist platform. They have not only relinquished their revolutionary and emancipatory ideals, but have launched an all-out attack against Marxism, the revolution, and socialism.

Soviet revisionism, now embodied in Gorbachev's course of perestroyka, glasnost, and the new political thinking, remains as before in the vanguard of this great anti-communist campaign. Gorbachev's policy represents a new stage in the development of modern revisionism and the escalation of its attack against everything that has been attained by the international communist and revolutionary movements. The bourgeoisie and imperialism have never before been able to so savagely slander and attack the October Revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, as Gorbachev and his propagandists are now doing.

Until recently, Comrade Foto Cami went on to say, the attacks against the revolution and socialism were presented by the Soviet revisionists as criticism of Stalin's supposed mistakes or distortions. The Soviet media is now openly saying that the evils for which Stalin is blamed are rooted in the very concept of socialism, as elaborated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism; that Stalin has only implemented the projects of socialism worked out by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Efforts are therefore being made to trace where and in what way they were mistaken, so as to throw out all concepts of socialism which have supposedly checked development for a long time. But what ideas and theses of Marxism-Leninism concerning socialism are we talking about? The idea concerning the vanguard and revolutionary role of the workers class, that is, the role of the communist party, is rejected, and political and ideological pluralism is now being preached.

The basic Marxist concept of socialism as a system based on the social ownership of the means of production and the planned management of the economy is being rejected, and the way is being opened to private capitalism, the market economy, competition, the free play of prices, foreign capital investments, and joint companies. The cooperative system of agriculture is being swept away and the private peasant economy is being propped up. The idea is being advanced that the imperative of the struggle against bourgeois culture must be abandoned. On this basis, the gates have been thrown open to the penetration of decadent art, to all forms of debased literature and music, to all kinds of ugly manifestations in the cinema, the theater, and television, which poison the consciousness and world outlook of people.

All this shows clearly that the Gorbachev revisionists have undertaken a general onslaught against all the basic principles lying at the foundations of the socialist system and that distinguish it from the bourgeois system. It is our duty, Comrade Foto Cami went on to say, to expose and to reject this entire anti-socialist campaign. As a socialist country, we are required to prove, not only theoretically, but also in our daily practice, that the socialist order is the only order with a future, the only order capable of providing an answer to all the challenges of the time, to secure progress in all fields of life, to guarantee genuine freedom and democracy, the rights of working people, the comprehensive development of their personality, and to resolve all problems raised by life in its dialectical development. This constitutes today a duty of great responsibility and of great national and international importance.

In our country, too, we are encountering various problems and difficulties in the process of socialist construction. However, these are of a different nature. They are not a product of the party line or of our social system. They are difficulties of growth and are related primarily to the backwardness that we inherited, to the country's stage of development, and to the technical and technological level of production, which are natural factors not dependent on us, as well as to the effects of the pressure exerted against our country by the capitalist and revisionist world. Nor are we excluding here our own mistakes and shortcomings in the management and organization of work, particularly with regard to the perfecting of economic relations, which, as is known, may check or accelerate the development of production forces.

To overcome these difficulties and to resolve the problems encountered on our road, in addition to the material and financial factors conditioned by the level of the country's economic development, it is also necessary to change certain practices, certain forms of organization and management, certain laws and regulations, certain economic mechanisms, and so forth. These changes, which are primarily related to the sphere of production relations, are in our power. They require no investments, apart from study, experimentation, and the adoption of concrete measures. The Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum has given us an inspiring example with the concrete measures adopted to perfect remuneration in agricultural cooperatives, to increase their planning rights and their initiative, to consolidate state-cooperative relations, and to better harmonize the interests of individuals, the group, and society as a whole, and so forth.

Changes and improvements are also needed in other fields, but there is frequently hesitation in presenting ideas, proposals, and suggestions. One factor that exerts its influence in this, Comrade Foto Cami went on to say, one factor that acts as a brake in this, is also the clamorous campaign of reforms carried out by the present-day revisionists. The evil does not lie in the reforms or changes, in themselves. We are also in favor of changes, since we claim to be dialectic and say that we are not dogmatic or metaphysical. The question lies in the nature of these reforms. Who carries out these changes? Where do they lead? And whom do they serve?

The revisionists have lost faith in socialism and Marxism, in their driving force for social progress. They are therefore relinquishing them openly and are moving on all fronts toward capitalism, trampling on all traces of socialism. We, on the other hand, have faith in Marxism and socialism. We believe that there are great capabilities and possibilities, by adhering to their principles, to resolve all problems and to promote social and economic development in all directions. Our criticism of revisionism must be contemporary, it must take into account contemporary problems, and it must be done on the basis of new arguments. As the party and Comrade Enver have long since stressed, the struggle against revisionism and opportunism can be carried out successfully only from sound Marxist-Leninist positions. Revisionism cannot be opposed from rigid dogmatic positions, in the same way that dogmatism and sectarianism cannot be opposed from liberal and opportunistic positions. From this viewpoint, we must be dialectic and creative, and wage the struggle against modern revisionism from these positions.

Comrade Foto Cami went on to say that Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed that our party line has never been the line of withdrawing within our shell, or within an ivory tower. Our party line will never do this. But the extension of our relations and contacts with the world increases the foreign ideological pressure, in one form or another. This may create mistaken illusions and vigilance may be weakened. It is the duty of the party's propaganda to eliminate all possibilities of underrating these consequences, as well as any idea that it is necessary to sever all contacts with others in order to escape these dangers, forgetting that in this way the dangers which would confront the country and socialism would be even greater. It is therefore necessary to increase our efforts to carry out even more profound analyses, for a more qualitative effort, with strong logic and persuasive arguments.

In conclusion, Comrade Foto Cami said: The range of problems in the struggle against revisionism is very broad. The Gorbachev perestroyka has now encompassed all political and economic fields, philosophy, history, culture, science, the party's life and its role, questions pertaining to the state and to the law, as well as national and international questions. Our duty is to speak our mind in all these matters in order to expose and reject the revisionist deceit. In this direction, our study institutes, university sections, the media, scholars, those working on the ideological front, and others, are confronted with important duties.

Session Condemns Perestroyka

AU1703105189 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 17 Mar 89

["Scientific Session on the Topic 'Perestroyka—Antisocialist Theory and Practice'"—ATA headline]

[Excerpt] Tirana, March 17 (ATA)—The Marxist-Leninist Studies Institute under the CC of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] organized in Tirana, on March 16 a scientific session on the topic "Perestroyka-Antisocialist Theory and Practice".

Attending were also Comrade Foto Cami, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the PLA, comrade Pirro Kondi, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and first secretary of Tirana district party committee, Tefta Cami, member of the CC of the PLA and directress of the "V.I. Lenin" higher party school and other comrades.

The opening speech was made by the member of the party Central Committee and directress of the Marxist-Leninist Studies Institute, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha.

Four reports were read out at the session. The report "Perestroyka—Deepening of the Capitalist Road in the Soviet Economy" underscored that Gorbachev's economic and political reforms constitute in essence a desperate attempt to heal the chronic wounds of the Soviet capitalist economy and not to further enhance the tensions at home. Perestroyka appears as a program and strategy of present Soviet revisionism, in order to augment the potential of the Soviet Union in the economic field and in this direction the parity with the USA be reached.

The report "Bourgeois Reforming of the Political System in the Soviet Union" stresses the idea that one of the targets of the reforms of the political system in the Soviet Union is the exercising of social demagogy, aiming at mobilizing the human potential, already in a state of apathy and passiveness, in the line of Perestroyka. Political pluralism has laid roots in the Soviet capitalist reality and is nourished in its classical bed of pluralism of nationalist and economic interests.

The report "Ideological Pluralism, Glasnost—Further Degeneration of Spiritual Life in the Soviet Union" analyzes the genuine essence of glasnost, as a frontal attack against the revolutionary theory and practice and particularly against scientific socialism. Through glasnost and ideological pluralism, the Gorbachevian revisionists claim that they are realizing a thorough-going overthrow in the consciousness, that they are creating a "new atmosphere" and a positive alternative for the solution of the problems, but it is a fact that even in the sphere of spiritual life the Soviet society has been plunged into a depression and profound crisis.

The report "The New Political Thinking—In the Foundations of the Socialimperialist Policy of the Soviet Union" stresses that Gorbachev, through his doctrine, seeks to unite into a single one all the ideologies and philosophies, the opposite social classes and systems, making the "new political thinking" and perestroyka common denominator of all the peoples and nations. The creation of the relations of equality, the democratization of the international relations and their genuine humanism, the report underlines, cannot be achieved through the political doctrines of the big imperialist powers. To this end it is needed the participation with full rights of all peoples and states in treating of the important matters of the developments in the international life.

The reports being over there were read out several papers.

At the session the floor was taken also by Comrade Foto Cami, who said among others that our party has waged a consistent and principled struggle against modern revisionism, particularly against the Soviet one, which as Comrade Enver Hoxha has put it, constitutes the most complete theory and practice of the revisionist counterrevolution and its most dangerous variant. [passage omitted]

Gjyzari Speaks at Balkan Economic Meeting

*AU1603131989 Tirana ATA in English
0933 GMT 16 Mar 89*

["The PSR of Albania is Interested in the Further Development of the Trade Exchanges and Economic Cooperation With the Balkan Countries—From the Speech of the Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the PSR of Albania, Niko Gjyzari, at the Meeting of the Ministers of Economy or Foreign Trade of the Balkan States"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 16 (ATA)—The meeting of the ministers of economy or foreign trade of the Balkan states opened in Ankara on March 15. It was declared open by the minister of state of the Republic of Turkey, Yusuf Bozkurt Ozal.

In the first sitting of the meeting the floor was taken by the chairman of the State Planning Commission of the PSR of Albania, Niko Gjyzari who said among others:

In conformity with its constant policy of good neighborliness, the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania is sincerely interested in the further development of the trade exchanges and of the economic cooperation, both in a bilateral way and on regional scale. The current situation of the inter-Balkan economic exchanges does not respond to the possibilities existing in the region. Being conscious of this reality, as well as of the trade and productive structures of the Balkan countries, we think that it is necessary to make efforts by all that the economic cooperation in the Balkans, both in the bilateral plane and the multilateral one be extended over the hitherto level.

Albania, Comrade Niko Gjyzari said further on, has orientated a good part of its foreign trade with the Balkan states, is for a more complete exploitation of these possibilities, for the constant increase of the trade exchanges and for the consolidation of the industrial and technical-scientific inter-Balkan cooperation.

Likewise, we voice our opinion in favor of the forms that urge the extension of the regional trade exchanges, such as the agreements of cooperation among the chambers of commerce, seminars, symposiums, trade colloquiums, goods fairs, etc. Of positive effect in the extension of the trade relations in the region will also be the measures for the materialization of the trade contracts and documentation for simplifying the procedure of formalities of the commodity transportation.

The development of the border trade would be an important achievement in the Balkan cooperation, as a way offering possibilities to overcome tariff and non-tariff hindrances, for the gradual extension of trade and customs preferences among our countries.

We are of the opinion that fruitful efforts have been and are made to create ever better relations among the Balkan countries. The Albanian Government is determined to march on this road, although some bitter recent events do not lead to the strengthening of the climate of confidence we want to create. It is known that the problem of the minorities is a complex problem, especially in the Balkans. Albania has been and is of the opinion that our countries should make efforts to treat the national problems with wisdom and special care, without interference from abroad and without making use of violence and force against a certain nationality to impose a status which would violate its democratic freedoms and rights.

All the countries of the region are interested in the economic cooperation, especially in the producing one, the transfer of the technology, Comrade Niko Gjyzari said in conclusion. Our opinion is that each country can find suitable forms and ways for the realization of the inter-Balkan economic cooperation. I express the conviction of the Albanian delegation that this meeting will mark an important step forward in the Balkan economic cooperation.

Review of Academy of Sciences Meeting 14 Mar

*AU1503141389 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[Text] Tirana, March 15 (ATA)—The extended meeting of the Assembly of the Academy of Sciences held its proceedings in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses in the capital.

Present was also the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, Comrade Foto Cami, the member of the party Central Committee and directoress of the Marxist-Leninist Studies Institute, Nexhmije Hoxha, and other comrades.

The meeting was declared open by the president of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Aleks Buda, who said among others that this meeting is devoted to an important problem—the further elevation of the role and contribution of the natural and technical sciences to the continuous development and strengthening of our economy, in the context of implementing the important tasks of the 6th and 7th plenums of the party Central Committee and Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions.

Three reports were read out at the meeting. The report delivered by the chairman of the Committee of Science and Technique, Ajet Ylli "Let us Augment the Contribution of the Technical and Natural Sciences To Back Up Production and Improve Technology," pointed out among others the importance of the scientific and technical thinking to solve the problems of the modernization of the technologies, because the level of studies and designs determines to a decisive extent the indices of production and effectiveness of the new projects and reconstructions. The report pointed out that the link of science with production emerges from the very nature of science and from the peculiarities of production nowadays. The report also treated some problems of the improvement of management and of the organization of the scientific activities in conformity with the new tasks set to science and production.

The report "Problems of Economic Theory and Practice in the Present Stage of the Country's Development," held by the vice-president of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Hekuran Mara, stressed that, in the spirit of the orientations of the 9th congress of the party, the 6th and 7th plenums of the party Central Committee, as well as the very precious instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia, some of these problems have been studied finding for them the concrete solutions in the field of planning work renumeration, the effectiveness of organization and management in the state sector and in the cooperativist one of the economy. The report attached attention to some problems that have to do with the theoretical interpretation and practical application of the demands of the law of value in the planned socialist economy. The report also treated some problems on the development of foreign trade, the growth of export and import, being better adapted to the new processes developing objectively in the world market, on the basis of the known principles of equality and mutual profit and the continuous application of the state monopoly on the foreign trade and foreign currency.

The director of the Biological Research Center of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Teki Tartari, read out the report "The Achievements in Agricultural and Biological Sciences and the Tasks for the Future." The report stressed that over the three years of this five-year plan, in the context of implementing the decisions of the 9th congress of the party, the research institutions of agriculture and biology in our country have attained a series of positive results with regard to the solution of some concrete problems of economy, to enrich the scientific topics, to provide production with many biological materials in the form of seeds, saplings, to uplift the methodic level of researches, or the organizational strengthening of institutions, etc. The scientific institutions of agriculture and biology, the report stressed, have adopted measures to further promote in the future the scientific topics.

Then contributions to the reports began. They stressed among the other things that the economic thinking of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have always preceded our economic and social development. Likewise, it was pointed to the experience accumulated in the course of the study-scientific work to set up great hydroenergetic projects in our country, the research scientific achievements in the field of geology, it was spoken on the development of informatique [word as received] in our country, the contribution of technical sciences to the solution of many problems of production and of the improvement of its technology, etc.

Comrade Foto Cami also took the floor at the meeting. He underscored among others the importance of making profound and complex studies for the economy of our country so as to revolutionize production, because the problems we have to tackle with, he undescored, are complex inter-institutional and inter-disciplinary. After speaking of the importance of scientific studies that open greater perspectives for the future and precede the solution of economic problems, Comrade Foto Cami said that by treating these important strategic questions with national proportions, we will be able to solve in time even the great and concrete problems laid to us in every five-year plan.

The 9th congress of the party, he said, pointed out that science in our country, is turned into a direct productive force in our country, too, particularly in the 80's. One notices the important phenomenon of separating the sector of scientific knowledge in the general traditional scheme of the division of labor. But the practical realization of the scientific study and research, Comrade Foto Cami stressed, must be turned into a final product.

Then Comrade Foto Cami pointed out that the change of the role and place of science, its transformation into a direct productive force and the need to make the scientific activity as efficient as possible have further completed the concept on the product of scientific work, the indispensability that it better be subjected to the dependence on activity of the economic mechanisms. The objective, he stresses, is to make the value of the scientific work, so that its effectivity increase, so that the society itself draw direct incomes, on the one hand, and on the other investments on science, the evaluation of the society on scientific, study and designing activity increase. [sentence as received]

Further on he pointed out that a wide network of institutes and institutions has been created in our country, which make studies in various fields of the social production and life. Besides, over 250 technological bureaus function in enterprises, which carry out an extensive study and experimental work.

Then, the Assembly approved the new members of the Academy of Sciences, Comrades Farudin Hoxha, Ylli Popa, Alfred Uci, Hamit Beqja, Ismail Kadare, Shaban Demiraj, and Teki Tartari, whereas Skender Gjinushi as a correspondent member.

Besides this, the Assembly elected the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences: Aleks Buda, president; Hekuran Mara, vice-president; Luan Omari, scientific secretary; and members Androkli Kostallari, Foto Cami, Hysen Lacej, Kole Popa, Petrit Radovicka, and Stefanaq Pollo.

East European Press Reports on Kosovo Viewed

AU1503110989 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Mar 89 p 4

[ATA report: "On The Events in Kosovo"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Other newspapers, radio and television stations, and news agencies in many countries of the world have also carried articles and commentaries on recent developments in Kosovo, denouncing the anti-Albanian policy of the Serbian chauvinists and the oppressive measures against the Albanians of Kosovo.

The press, radio, and television of Eastern countries, especially the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, have echoed and supported the Serbian version of Kosovo events, the oppression of and discrimination against the Albanians, the arrests among them and their persecution, the dispatch of the army and tanks, and the imposition of a state of emergency.

Balev, Assembly Delegation Return From Iran

AU1603091389 Sofia BTA in English 0823 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—A delegation of the National Assembly, led by Mr Milko Balev, member of the State Council and chairman of the Committee on Foreign Policy at the National Assembly, returned from Iran. They paid a visit to that country at the invitation of Iran's parliament.

The Bulgarian guests had talks with a delegation of the Iranian parliament, headed by Hojjat ol-Eslam Sadeq Khalkhali, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Policy. The two sides discussed issues related to the state and prospects of development of Bulgaro-Iranian relations as well as some international issues of mutual interest.

The delegation had meetings with President Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the chairman of the parliament 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi Khamene'i and the Foreign Affairs Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

Mr. Milko Balev handed to President 'Ali Khamene'i a message by State Council President Todor Zhivkov, as well as an oral message to the chairman of the parliament Mr. Rafsanjani. A message from Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, to his Iranian colleague Mr. Velayati was also handed. The messages express satisfaction over the presence of mutual interest and readiness for further strengthening and broadening of the bilateral relations, in which the trade economic cooperation is of primary importance, on the basis of equality, mutual advantage and non-interference in the internal affairs.

PRC Trade Union Delegation Visit Reported

AU1603182189 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Mar 89 p 4

[Voyko Tanev report: "Common Wisdom and Learning From Each Other"]

[Text] The history of present-day Bulgarian-Chinese trade union relations is brief. They were established only a few years ago. Nevertheless, within this short period the two trade union organizations underwent extensive and dynamic development, concerned with the search for common features between the two largest mass organizations of working people in our two countries. The visit of a delegation from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, headed by Zhang Ruiying, vice-chairman of the federation, represents a new contribution in this respect. The delegation arrived yesterday.

We regard this visit as a new step along the path of expanding our cooperation, Kosta Andreev, secretary of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, pointed out during the official talks which began on 14 March 1989. The agreements reached during the visit of a Bulgarian trade union delegation to China in 1988 represent a solid basis for the further development of our relations.

We are following the changes taking place in China with the greatest attention, Kosta Andreev pointed out. We are convinced that they are of great importance not only for your country, but also for the whole world. As for our bilateral relations, we are fully justified in believing that our joint initiatives are promising.

Kosta Andreev further briefed his guests on the main trends in the activities of Bulgarian trade unions under restructuring in all spheres of our social and economic life.

Zhang Ruiying pointed out, in turn: It is evident that the words restructuring and reform will frequently recur in our talks. This is understandable, because both countries are going through a period of searching for new paths of development. Our basic tasks were assigned at the 11th Trade Union Congress. It was a congress of reform, a congress at which the common understanding that there is no return to the past prevailed. This makes it necessary for the trade unions to solve a number of basic problems.

Yankov Elected Scientific Workers Union Chairman

AU1603091189 Sofia BTA in English 0811 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—Mr. Aleksandur Yankov, professor in international law, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, was elected chairman of the Union of Scientific Workers in Bulgaria.

The 65-year old Aleksandur Yankov is a member of the CC of the BCP, member of the Parliament, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Bulgarian International Law Association.

He is a member of the Consultative Council on Disarmament with the United Nations, vice chairman of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission with UNESCO, Bulgaria's representative in the UN Commission on International Law. He has also been elected a corresponding member of the Institute for International Law in Athens.

Film Workers Union Reelects Stoyanov Chairman

AU1603131789 Sofia BTA in English 1054 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—Early this morning the Fourth (Extraordinary) Congress of the Union of the Bulgarian Film Makers ended. The 600 participants in the congress reelected Mr Georgi Stoyanov for chairman of the union by a secret vote. [passage omitted]

The congress elected a new Managing Committee but postponed the adoption of the union statute due to the numerous critical remarks and amendments to the proposed project. In a span of two days a number of topical issues related to the Bulgarian cinema were posed: the need of independence in the repertoire policy, the urgent initiatives necessary for improvement of the material and technical basis of film production, the need of a better distribution of the Bulgarian feature and particularly of documentary films. [passage omitted]

This congress was the last of the congresses of all creative unions in Bulgaria at which the problems of restructuring taking place in the intellectual sphere were discussed.

List of Registered Companies To Be Published

AU1603170289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Mar 89 p 6

[Text] Sofia, 14 March (Dimitrana Aleksandrova)—The registration of companies began 12 days ago. From today, the "Information Services" Economic Trust has also opened a national list. However, for the moment this list only includes data from the Sofia City and Sofia District Courts. Information from throughout the country has not yet been received, and in fact the "Delphi" System is still not in operation. Reasons for this will be found, though they can hardly be objective ones, as almost all district courts already have at least a few companies registered.

Thus, the national list is in essence a list only covering the capital. Up to yesterday, it contained the names of a total of 68 companies, 59 of which are registered at the Sofia City Court, and 9 at the Sofia District Court; these include 5 state companies, 9 collective citizens' companies, and 54 one-person companies—the largest number.

The leaders of the "Information Services" Economic Trust have once again promised that every 10 days we will be able to find out the contents of the national companies list, and they have even set the date of 23 March for our first joint publication.

Activities of Prosecutor's Office Examined

AU1603145989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Mar 89 p 2

[Violeta Simeonova report: "Control Against Violations"]

[Text] The collegium of the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria held a meeting yesterday. It discussed the results of investigations conducted by the Chief Prosecutor's Office in self-managing economic organizations in 1988. The investigations dealt with the observance and application of legal documents in the sector of domestic trade and services, in the work of consumer cooperatives, in introducing inventions and innovations, as well as with the activities of organs in charge of production quality control. The investigations reviewed 40 economic enterprises in the public services sector, 48 economic trade associations, 33 public catering establishments, and 47 consumer cooperatives.

It was pointed out at the session that, as a result of 168 investigations conducted by prosecution organs throughout the country, over 15,000 cases of encroachments against the law were reported, and 41 complaints were filed against acts considered illegal. In addition to this, 277 proposals were filed on the basis of Article 30 of the Law on the Prosecutor's Office—in connection with eliminating violations, as well as their causes and the conditions producing such violations—and 251 proposals were submitted on the basis of Article 31 of the same law, demanding administrative, financial, and disciplinary responsibility from people who have committed such violations. The work of the prosecution organs was concluded with 7 preliminary legal procedures and 74 penal investigations.

Representatives of the Central Cooperative Union and the Ministry of Planning and Economy participated in the work of the collegium.

Prewar CPCZ Members Meeting Held in Prague

Jakes Attends

LD1603150689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] In the presence of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, a Prague CPCZ prewar meritorious members' assembly opened in the Palace of Culture in Prague today. The assembly is held to mark the 60th anniversary of the fifth party congress and the 40th anniversary of the ninth party congress.

Stepan Remarks Cited

LD1603160989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Report by editor Stanislav Benda on the CPCZ prewar member's meeting 16 mar in the Prague Palace of Culture]

[Text] [Benda] The Prague City CPCZ Committee convened this meeting to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the fifth party congress and the 40th anniversary of the ninth party congress to discuss the party's topical tasks prior to 18th CPCZ Congress. Prewar Communists welcomed Comrades Milos Jakes, Miroslav Stepan, and others.

Comrade Stepan then delivered the introductory speech. He emphasized that today's complicated nature is due to the fact that socialism in general is passing through a critical period of transitioning to the new phase of its revolutionary development. Processes are taking place, which in many ways are decisive for the fate of socialism. The most important thing, he said, is that we prevent the erosion of socialist values and reinforce the conviction, particularly in young people about the further good prospects of the socialist system.

Comrade Stepan said that today it is particularly important to come back to those milestone in the history of the party, when it was on the turn of two stages and sought new forms of work. We must seek a lesson in this as the new line today also has opponents both on the right and the left. Therefore, we must wage a sincere dialogue in the party organizations in order to be able to wage a dialogue with society.

Comrade Stepan also said that the Prague city party committee expected more positive changes. It looks as though the party bodies and organizations, and Communists in leading managerial positions in the national committees and in the National Front bodies, are unable to free themselves from their past. Many party committees and the party members fail to understand that is up to them above all how well restructuring and democratization will penetrate into society.

The current important period in the life of society cannot be jumped over and the attitude of wait and see somewhere "out of the blue" cannot be adopted. It becomes a real test for each Communist.

The prewar Communists spoke very openly in the ensuing discussion about all of today's problems and critically analyzed, year after year, our state's historical development and CPCZ policy.

Jakes Addresses Meeting

LD1603202389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] The participants of a meeting of prewar meritorious members of the CPCZ from Prague held in the Palace of Culture were greeted by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He thanked them for their support for party policy and for their work and political firmness in support of the policy of restructuring and democratization whose aim is to strengthen socialism by speeding up the socioeconomic development of society in the interests of further raising the material and cultural living standard of the people and enhancing our country's international prestige.

At a time when we are putting preparations in hand for the 18th party congress, he stated, we are recalling the lessons of party history particularly in the context of the anniversaries of its fifth and ninth congresses. These congresses, Milos Jakes stressed, were an example of the revolutionary approach and of the ability of the party and its leadership in the person of Comrade Klement Gottwald to respond to the urgent needs of the time and to map out to this end an appropriate political strategy which was understood and supported by the people, and to set out relevant procedures and methods for party work.

Milos Jakes went on to recapitulate the steps already taken in restructuring the economic mechanism and democratizing society. In the recent period, he stated, much has been done, yet we cannot be satisfied with the results attained. We must be more resolute and consistent in implementing the intentions set out and the measures adopted. Not everyone has yet grasped the necessity for this policy. Some are adopting the wait-and-see approach, but the number of active fighters for restructuring is continuing to grow.

There are also forces, Milos Jakes went on to say, who want to exploit restructuring and democratization in order to destabilize the socialist system, to disparage our people's achievements, and to discredit our party.

Milos Jakes then outlined the tasks facing our party and society in the immediate and longer term. The direction in which we must focus our attention, he emphasized, was shown in the statement issued by the presidium of the party Central Committee [on the occasion of the February 1948 aniversary] which is receiving a broad response not only among Communists, but among the citizens at large. We must strive to ensure that restructuring gains support not only in words, but primarily through practical actions. The run-up to the congress, he pointed out, must be used to activate the party and the entire National Front.

Milos Jakes wound up his speech by expressing the conviction that the prewar and meritorious party members would continue to lend their support to pushing through and implementing party policy, and would direct their enduring revolutionary elan towards influencing the young generation in particular.

Eleven party comrades spoke in the discussion. They supported the speeches by Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan on the current revolutionary process of restructuring and democratization, noting that they would do all in their power to contribute to its implementation.

The 500-plus participants at the meeting went on to approve a letter to the CPCZ Central Committee in which they voiced full support for the statement issued by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st anniversary of the February victory. In the letter they went on to express surprise at the fact that certain Czechoslovak cultural and scientific figures had failed, for various reasons, to grasp the tasks of the current historic stage. In the letter the participants at the meeting also state their determination to fully support party policy and pass on their experience to the younger rising generation.

Polish Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak Visits

Arrives 14 Mar

AU1603091989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and minister of interior affairs of the Polish People's Republic, arrived in Czechoslovakia on Monday [14 March] at the invitation of Frantisek Kincl, CSSR minister of interior.

Visits Brno

LD1503203689 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 15 Mar 89

[By PAP correspondent Leszek Mazan]

[Text] Prague, March 15—Poland's minister of internal affairs and PUWP CC Political Bureau Member General Czeslaw Kiszczak, now on a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia, visited Brno today. He acquainted himself with the political situation of the province and work of local law enforcement organs. General Czeslaw Kiszczak accompanied by Federal Minister of the Interior of Czechoslovakia Frantisek Kincl met with First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Voivodship Committee of Southern Moravia Vladimir Herman.

Received by Jakes

AU1603114989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Mar 89 p 1

[Report entitled "Comrade Milos Jakes Received Polish Guest"]

[Text] Prague—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received in Prague yesterday Czeslaw Kiszczak, Polish United Workers' Party Politburo member and interior minister, currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of his Czechoslovak counterpart Frantisek Kincl.

The two representatives informed each other of the present developments in their countries.

Milos Jakes informed his guest of his party's activities in the stage of preparations for the 18th party congress. Czeslaw Kiszczak spoke of the situation in Poland, the aims of the government's economic policy and the latest development of the round-table talks. Both representatives stressed the importance of contacts between the two parties and called for their further development. The talk, which passed in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, was attended by Frantisek Kincl, CSSR minister of interior; Rudolf Hegenbart, head of a Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee department; and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the CSSR.

SFRY's Lolic Arrives 13 Mar for Talks

LD1403110189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1803 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Prague, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Marco Lolic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, arrived in Prague today for roundtable talks on the experience of the LCY and the CPCZ in the sphere of information, and on the role of the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak press, radio, and television. On this exchange of opinions with representatives of the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak media, to be held tomorrow, Vitomir Sudarszki, director of KOMUNIST, and Zdravko Lekovic, director of the Yugoslav Institute for Journalism will also take part.

They were met at the airport by Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chief editor of RUDE PRAVO.

Lenart Receives Delegation

LD1503171489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Jozef Lenart, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and member of its Presidium, had talks in Prague today with a delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia headed by Marko Lolic. They informed each other about topical issues currently being tackled by both parties. They also exchanged views on the role played by the media in the process of the democratization of society.

Canceled Talks With Human Rights Group Viewed

AU1503153689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Mar 89 p 2

[Rostislav Valasek article in the "In Reply to Readers' Questions" column: "What Sort of an 'Unacceptable' Condition Was It?"]

[Text] The CTK report on the stay of a delegation of the Helsinki Federation for Human Rights in Prague, which we published on 7 March, stated that, because of an unacceptable condition, a scheduled meeting of the foreign guests with representatives of Czechoslovak state organs did not take place. Several readers have called our editorial office to ask what sort of an "unacceptable" conditions was involved, in fact.

As we have reported in RUDE PRAVO, the delegation of the Vienna-based Helsinki Federation for Human Rights arrived in Prague at the invitation of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation. It was headed by the organization's chairman, Karl Johannes von Schwarzenberg. The purpose of the visit was to discuss the possibilities of cooperation between the two organizations. The agenda of the meeting included, among other things, meetings at the Ministry of Justice of the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] and at the Passport and Visa Office of the Federal Ministry of Interior.

As CTK noted in its report, the meetings could not take place because members of the delegation of the International Helsinki Federation set a condition for the talks that was unacceptable to the Czechoslovak state organs. As Antonin Kaspar, minister of justice of the Czech SR, told us in response to our question, at the request of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation and following a preliminary agreement on the composition of the 4-member delegation of the International Helsinki Federation headed by Karl Johannes von Schwarzenberg, he agreed to receive the delegation at the Ministry of Justice of the Czech SR. He said: "Shortly before the scheduled meeting I was informed that, in contrast to the original agreement, the delegation had one more member, Czechoslovak citizen Jiri Hajek, on whose presence Mr von Schwarzenberg insisted. We were ready to have a discussion with the delegation composed according to the agreed protocol. However, because of Mr von Schwarzenberg's inflexibility, the scheduled meeting did not take place."

As we learned at the Passport and Visa Office of the Federal Ministry of Interior, even there, the planned meeting with the delegation of the Helsinki Federation did not take place. Representatives of the ministry were prepared to hold the previously agreed-upon talks. Regrettably, however, members of the delegation did not come to the meeting, giving no reason.

Trial of Two Czech 'Pacifists' Opens in Prague

Charged With 'Sedition'

LD1603234189 Prague CTK in English 2048 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 16 (CTK)—Hana Marvanova and Tomas Dvorak went on trial at the Prague 1 District Court here today on charges of sedition.

The accused and some witnesses were heard and evidence was read today. The trial is to continue tomorrow with the hearing of more witnesses and presentation of more evidence.

Hearing Restricted

AU1603174789 Paris AFP in English 1707 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Prague, March 16 (AFP)—The trial of two Czechoslovak pacifists charged with "incitement to rebellion" opened here Thursday.

Hana Marvanova, a 26-year-old jurist, and technician Tomas Dvorak, 23, both of them founders of the Independent Pacifist Association (NMS), face sentences of between six months and three years imprisonment if found guilty.

They were arrested almost five months ago and charged with taking part in a mass demonstration here on August 21, on the 20th anniversary of the Soviet-led military intervention which ended the period of liberalization known as the Prague Spring.

Only half a dozen people, including three friends of the defendant and two other dissidents, were allowed to attend the first hearing in a very small courtroom while some hundred supporters gathered quietly in the court-building.

Several diplomats, journalists and dissidents, including Prague Spring foreign minister Jiri Hajek, were barred from the courtroom.

A member of the Vienna-based International Helsinki Federation [IHF], had been refused a visa to attend the trial. Mr. Hajek is the chairman of the IHF's Czechoslovak committee.

Another NMS militant, 22-year-old Jana Petrova was jailed for nine months on February 22 for "disturbing public order" in the commemoration of the death by self-immolation of student Jan Palach in January 1969. He meant his death as a protest against the Soviet intervention.

Weekly Attacks Proponents of 'Subversion'

AU1603140589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech No 10 8 Mar 89 pp 8, 9

[Josef Bodlak article: "How They Were Dispatching 'Messages...'"]

[Excerpts] It seems that producing various pamphlets was and is very easy work for some people. Arranging for signatures to appear under those works seems to be equally easy. I repeatedly realize this when—from time to time—a similar "document" reaches our editorial office. A white sheet of paper containing typewritten names without addresses, accompanied by a letter which states that this—as was the latest case—is signature sheet No.16 and 17, demanding that court proceedings not be held against this or that member of the so-called independent groups, who was taken into custody in accordance with Czechoslovak laws, or duly sentenced.

Since I remember very well the 1968-69 years of crisis, it is logical that a comparison came to mind. On the pages of dailies and weeklies of that time we found more than one such "document." LITERARNI NOVINY and the people connected with its editorial office, who declared themselves to be the "conscience of the nation," were the ranking authors and organizers of the various "protest actions." The weekly's dominating "document" was the counterrevolutionary appeal "2000 Words." Its authors left no one in doubt as to where and with whom one should go, and who should "take our society by the hand." [passage omitted]

In recent weeks a number of persons, especially from the cultural front, signed a "petition" to the premier, in which they supported V. Havel, a man who has been purposefully subverting our socialist system for many years. I believe that the majority of those who signed the petition are genuinely interested in a dialogue, that they are interested in the development of our socialist fatherland. However, one must not specify preconditions for a dialogue. However, the organizers of that petition, and those who are in the background, are interested in something quite different: in making a "hero" out of a man who has embarked upon the path of the subversion of the republic, in providing further stimulus to information media in the West, further material for incitement against socialist Czechoslovakia.

I do not want to draw a comparison, but there is an obvious similarity. Just as the organizers of the various petitions were making use of LITERARNI NOVINY and other information media in the years of crisis, the present day organizers of similar actions always find Radio Free Europe's door open. And it is very well-known what that radio station supports: certainly not socialism!

One more fact has greatly caught not only my attention, but also confirmed my conviction that the organizers of that petition are very close to people who have a wealth of experience in organizing similar campaigns precisely from the years of crisis. A number of names from those times are only too well-known. Names like Frantisek Pavlicek, Milan Jungmann, Sergej Machonin, Petr Kabes, Ludvik Vaculik.... The last one, by the way, was the author of the counterrevolutionary pamphlet "2000 Words."

There is no need to recall what these people sought 21 years ago and what they are seeking now. The past 2 decades and their present activities are evidence that their objectives have not changed.

Soviet Journal Publishes 'Guide to Solzhenitsyn'

AU1603122889 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 11 Mar 89 p 2

["hp"-signed report: "Discussion With Literati"]

[Text] Another event of the "Days of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA" [publishing house of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] in Czechoslovakia was a discussion of editors and authors of the Soviet publishing and printing association with Czechoslovak literati and journalists in the Prague Festival Club underneath Wenceslas Square. Here are at least a few interesting observations: V. Verstakov, poet and, at the same time, lieutenant colonel, who served in Afghanistan: "According to fresh official data, 13,826 of our boys died in Afghanistan. However, additional soldiers died from their injuries only in hospital or they died as a consequence of local diseases, such as typhoid." P. Gorelov, who is a specialist on the literature of Soviet emigrants: "Solzhenitsyn has not been printed in the central press so far, but KUBAN, a regional literary journal, for example, does publish a guide to Solzhenitsyn's work in its first three issues of 1989." V. Jaroshenko, head of the current affairs department of the journal NOVIY MIR, who is a specialist on ecology: "Our 'green' movement seeks absolute publicity for all ecological information. The congress of various 'green' groups from the entire union was held in Moscow 2 weeks ago, under the auspices of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee. We agreed, inter alia, to set up a Committee of Legal Defense, whose main purpose should be to help people in oblasts and localities who continue to be persecuted for their environmentalist activity."

Reader Protests Contacts With Independent Group

AU1503165489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
14 Mar 89 p 3

[Letter from Tomas Spacek, "Political Worker" of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia District Committee in Rychnov nad Kneznou, in the "From Letters to the Editor" column: "Youth, Polemics, Activity"]

[Excerpt] In RUDE PRAVO of 27 February 1989 I read the article "The Discussion Was Not Devoid of Disagreements" on a meeting of young people in the restaurant of Prague's Rieger Gardens.

I fully agree that it is necessary to conduct a dialogue with young people, now much more than ever before. However, we must be clear about what this dialogue should promote, who should organize it, and how. By this I mean that it is absolutely unacceptable for anyone from the outside to force upon us the organizers or the subject matter of discussions. Do we have so few legal [previous word published in wide-spaced type] organizations that such a meeting must be co-organized for us by the "Independent Peace Association," an illegal and essentially antisocialist group? Do we have such insufficient organizational abilities that Western radio stations must help us invite people to this event? What did we expect would result from such an undertaking? Will mass events of this sort help us galvanize young people into action for the needs of restructuring, for honest labor conducive to improving the state of the national economy? More likely, they will only add to confusion in young people's thinking.

I repeat—discussions, polemics, exchanges of views, by all means! But these must take place at the workplace, in labor collectives, at schools, in communities, in primary organizations of the Socialist Youth Union. Only there is it possible to arrive at specific conclusions, because there we know one another, know who is who, know who is only good at raising demands while showing no interest in hard work, and who is also capable of working or studying honestly. [passage omitted]

Increased Taiwanese Demand for Trucks Noted

AU1503163889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
13 Mar 89 p 1

[CTK report: "LIAZ in Taiwan"]

[Text] Jablonec nad Nisou—LIAZ 110.551 towing vehicles have aroused exceptional interest among Taiwanese customers. The Motokov foreign trade enterprise presented them in the new sales and service center of the URM Corporation in the capital of Taiwan, Taipei. Twelve of the first series of 30 vehicles were sold the very first day, and the rest in the following 2 days.

The Czechoslovak side appreciates the exemplary approach of the URM Corporation in introducing our vehicles on the Taiwanese market and the conditions which it creates for sales of LIAZ automobiles. The integrity of the manufacturer is underscored by the presence of technicians in the sales center. They acquaint customers in detail with everything that is necessary for the reliable and economic operation of the automobiles on offer. Even after the first tests and experience the Taiwanese customers are already praising the automobiles. Therefore, representatives of our Taiwanese trading partner arrived in the CSSR last week to contract further deliveries.

Contacts Continue at Leipzig Spring Fair

Beil Comments at Opening

AU1403172789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Mar 89 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Minister Gerhard Beil on Opening of Spring Fair; Good Prerequisites for Fruitful Work"]

[Text] Before the beginning of the traditional walkabout at the opening of the Leipzig Spring Fair, Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil welcomed the members of the party and state leadership. He stated:

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you to the 1989 Leipzig Spring Fair.

In preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the 12th SED Congress, our country's working people have undertaken special efforts to make this fair reflect the historic achievements of socialism on German soil.

With high-quality offers for investment and consumer goods, scientific-technological successes and technologies, the exhibiting combines show how the GDR is increasingly participating in determining international high standards. It is apparent that economic development, as the central field of our social policy, is characterized by dynamics and stability, increased quality, efficiency, and export capacity.

Thus, it becomes possible to continue to develop our foreign trade relations on the basis of our achievements, to give new impetus to Leipzig, this trade center of international importance, and make it even more attractive.

In 16 branches, approximately 9,000 exhibitors from 5 continents are presenting their latest products and developments to visiting experts from more than 100 countries. The scale and the international scope of the offers guarantee a high degree of information and excellent opportunities for contacts and dispositions. Thus, all the prerequisites for fruitful activities are present at the fair.

The GDR, and I may state this, will use them to further deepen and perfect the cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries, aimed at work according to plan and, at the same time, flexibility, dynamics, equivalence, and reliability in the mutual scientific-technological and economic relations.

At the same time, we will do everything to open up new opportunities and fields for trade with countries having a different social order and to use the positive effect of wide-range coexistence for the peaceful coexistence of states.

With its atmosphere which promotes international dialogue and economic cooperation, the Leipzig fair will confirm in its way what you, Comrade Erich Honecker stated recently: "The GDR will always remain a reliable and predictable partner in international relations."

Thus, I wish your walkabout and the next days at the fair a good, productive course.

CSSR Minister Visits Fair

LD1503155789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Jan Sterba, Czechoslovak foreign trade minister, yesterday visited the Leipzig Spring Fair. He had talks with GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil about topical questions concerning goods exchange and scientific-technological cooperation. Representatives of Pragoinvest, the Czechoslovak foreign trade corportion, and Tatra Works from Prague-Smichov, yesterday ceremoniously handed over the 4,000th tramway to GDR customers.

PDRY, Swiss Officials Attend

AU1603093389

[Editorial Report] The East Berlin papers BERLINER ZEITUNG and NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German on 14 March each carry one report on meetings between GDR officials and Western and communist officials at the Leipzig Spring Fair on 13 March.

BERLINER ZEITUNG on page 2 carries a 550-word report noting meetings between Felix Meier, GDR minister of electrical engineering and electronics, and Dr 'Abdallah Muhammad 'Uthman, minister of industry, trade, and supply of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen; and between GDR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Christian Meyer and Sir James Cleminson, chairman of the British foreign trade authority, who "discussed a greater participation of British firms in the Leipzig fairs."

NATIONAL-ZEITUNG on page 2 carries a 250-word report noting meetings between GDR Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Christian Meyer and Silvio Arioli, Swiss Federal Council delegate for trade contracts; and between GDR Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil and Austrian Economics Minister Robert Graf and Rudolf Sallinger, president of the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, who "positively assessed the results of cooperation in 1988."

Talks With FRG, U.S. Participants

AU1603120889

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 15 March on page 3 carries four reports, ranging from 100 to 350 words, on meetings between GDR politicians and Western officials at the Leipzig Spring Fair on 14 March.

The first (350 words) is a report on the meeting between GDR Foreign Trade Minister Beil and Northrhine-Westphalian Economics Minister Reimut Jochimsen. Minister Jochimsen said that the participation of Northrhine-Westphalian firms in the Leipzig fairs "has contributed to deepening the business contacts with the GDR combines and foreign trade enterprises." Minister Beil said that trade with "Northrhine-Westphalia accounts for almost one-third of the GDR's total trade with the FRG."

The second report (150 words) deals with the meeting between Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil, chairman of the GDR-U.S. Trade and Economic Council, and a delegation of the U.S.-GDR Trade and Economic Council headed by its chairman Lawrence Williams. Both sides discussed "the activities of trade and economic councils to implement the work program. Additional concrete measures were defined in preparation of the forthcoming 10th conference of the trade and economic councils."

The third (100 words) is a report on the meeting between Dr Guenther Wyschofsky, GDR minister of chemical industry, and Claudio Aranzadi, Spanish minister of industry and energy.

The fourth report (350 words) deals with the meetings between Thierry de Beauce, French state secretary for foreign relations, and Gerhard Beil, foreign trade minister; Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics; and Rudi Georgi, minister of construction of machine tools and processing machinery. Beil and his French guest said "that the talks on disarmament and detente to secure peace in Europe have created a favorable climate for ensuring a further increase in the exchange of goods."

Firms Conclude Contracts

AU1603172889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Leipzig (ND)—On Tuesday [13 March] lively trading took place in all branch compounds in the fair halls and houses of the inner city. Exhibitors from all continents took advantage of the international character of the Leipzig fair and the good opportunities it provides to conclude deals, not only for negotiations with partners from the GDR, but also for talks with companies from many other states. In the course of this, further important contracts were concluded.

The GDR metallurgical sector and the Soviet Promsyrioimport foreign trade association signed contracts on the import of metallurgical products during the second half of 1989. They agreed on deliveries of hot strip, rails, semifinished goods, and steel tubes worth a total of more than R200 million for supplies to the GDR national economy. Vladimir Karpov, deputy chairman of the Promsyrioimport foreign trade organization stated: "For us this agreement is a firm part of the economic cooperation with the GDR. It establishes a good basis for further deepening economic cooperation."

Contracts worth R185 million were concluded between the TAKRAF [transportation equipment, conveying equipment, and cranes] foreign trade enterprise and the Soviet Mashino-Import foreign trade association. They include the export of port cranes, railroad and crawler slewing cranes of varying load capacities next year, and are again an expression of the long-standing cooperation between the GDR manufacturing enterprises and users in the USSR. Furthermore, the 50,000th fodder harvest complex was handed over to the USSR partner Traktoro-Export. Hans Schneider, director general of the Progress Combine, affirmed that solid and dynamic delivery and cooperation relations have developed over the 3 decades of cooperation. Agricultural technology from the Progress Combine constitutes a considerable part of GDR exports to the USSR. Products imported from the fraternal countries include, for instance, diesel engines for swath forming mowers, wheel tractors, beet lifters, sprinklers, and soil cultivation technology.

The delivery of 137 streetcar motorized units and trailers was agreed between the Rail Vehicles Export-Import foreign trade enterprise and the CSSR's Pragoinvest foreign trade company. The vehicles will be delivered in 1990 and will be used, among other places, om Gera, Leipzig, Cottbus, Frankfurt (Oder), Erfurt, Goerlitz, Zwickau, and Karl-Marx-Stadt. On Tuesday the Leipzig Transportation Authority took over the 4,000th streetcar. Within the framework of a specialization agreement, the GDR is delivering railroad passenger cars to the fraternal socialist country.

A contract on nonmaterial services for waste water treatment was signed by the Industrie-Consult Berlin state enterprise and the FRG Eichsfelder Energy and Water Supply company. The use of modern biotechnological processes for waste water purification and sludge treatment, which has been developed in the state-owned Halle Water Technology and Water Conservancy Project Planning Combine, has been agreed. These processes will be used for the modernization of the Duderstedt purification plant in Lower Saxony, FRG, in order to live up to future demands concerning water quality.

Dohlus Talks With Hungarian Officials

AU1603151089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [14 March] Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, received a delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee headed by Janos Lukacs, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. The guest conveyed cordial greetings from MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the

SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were returned by Horst Dohlus on Honecker's behalf in an equally cordial way.

During the friendly exchange of experiences, Horst Dohlus briefed the guests about the party organizations' work to implement the decisions of the Seventh SED Central Committee Conference in preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the 12th SED Congress. He explained the tasks in connection with the forthcoming municipal elections and referred to the GDR working people's achievements, which are aimed at making socialism on German soil even stronger and more attractive and at securing peace.

Janos Lukacs reported on the MSZMP's efforts to fulfill the resolutions of its national conference of May 1988 and of the subsequent Central Committee conferences to mobilize the working people for the implementation of the party's policy. He explained problems of the economic reform and the development of socialist democracy in Hungary.

Both partners in the talks concurrently paid tribute to the high level of relations between the SED and the MSZMP. They stressed the usefulness of an overall and comradely exchange of opinions.

Heinz Mirtschin, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the Central Committee Party Organs Department, and Erno Lakatos, Hungarian ambassador to the GDR, participated in the talk.

Former Security Official Writes on Stalin Era

*LD0903222689 Hamburg DPA in German
2105 GMT 9 Mar 89*

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Marcus "Mischa" Wolf, for many years the head of the GDR secret service, read from his recently published book "Troika" in East Berlin on Thursday evening, also commenting on the treatment of the Stalin era in the GDR. The reading, before more than 120 people and which marked Wolf's public debut as an author, was also attended by representatives of the Western media. Asked in the subsequent discussion about arbitrary acts in the Stalin era and their treatment in the GDR, he said that they had started over 30 years ago.

With reference to the GDR against the background of strong criticism in Soviet publications about the murders under Stalin, he said: "Well, there has been a certain reserve, not to say abstinence...." At the same time, Wolf pointed out that detailed examinations of this nature are in the first instance up to Soviet historians.

"Care" is needed in dealing with history. Since the banning of the Soviet magazine SPUTNIK in the GDR last autumn there have been a number of articles on the Stalin issue in the GDR, including "about questions concerning mistakes made in the runup to fascism." The book, which is based on sketches by his brother, film director Konrad Wolf who died in 1982, portrays the lives of three friends. Marcus Wolf is also clearly alluding to the domestic political situation in Moscow in the 1930's and the increasing numbers of arrests and persecution.

During the function at Schloss Friedrichsfelde, Marcus Wolf mentioned his work for the Ministry of State Security only indirectly. Asked whether he would be going to the FRG to read from his book there in the near future, he said that "because of Mr Federal Public Prosecutor," a "number of obstacles" stand in the way of such a trip.

Leipzig Human Rights Groups Send Open Letter

*AU1603150989 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
16 Mar 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Open Letter From Leipzig Calls for Democracy"]

[Text] Four Leipzig human rights groups have called on the East Berlin government to "democratize all social structures." At the same time opposition members from all parts of the country called for a GDR-wide action day for the release of all political prisoners in the CSSR on Sunday [19 March].

In the "open letter to the GDR population," which became known in Leipzig yesterday, the human rights groups wrote that a government which is continuously eager to present its activities for peace but undermines "internal peace" with unjustified privileges, spying, and denunciation of its citizens, will "slide into foreign political isolation" in the long run. Human rights, including the right to travel freely and the right to choose residence outside the GDR, must be respected, the letter says.

Bishop Criticizes 'Church in Socialism'

*AU1303155789 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 13 Mar 89 p 4*

[EPD report: "Leich Criticizes 'Church in Socialism'"]

[Text] Berlin—Thuringian Bishop Leich, chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, has called the formula of the "church in socialism" "rather worn-out." The formula is misleading because the meaning of the contents of the concepts "church" and "socialism" have never been explained, he said. Instead of the formula, which has been used since the founding of the federation of churches 20 years ago, one should talk of the "Evangelical Church in the GDR" in the future, Leich said. The intention of the formula must remain the same even if a change is made. The church cannot be a "church for socialism" but has to regard itself as a "church for Jesus Christ" under the conditions of the GDR. Leich mentioned the mutual respect for independence as the basis for the relationship between the church and the socialist state.

Central Committee Greets Planning Organs

AU0703100789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4-5 Mar 89 p 3

[Message from the SED Central Committee, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to the employees of the planning organs: "Thanks for Initiative-Rich Work in Strengthening Our Republic"]

[Text] Dear employees of the planning organs:

On the occasion of the awarding of the honorary title "Meritorious Employee of the GDR Planning Organs" to comrades and colleagues, the SED Central Committee conveys cordial greetings and congratulations to you. At the same time, we express thanks and appreciation for the work full of initiative that you are carrying out for the well-being of the people, the comprehensive strengthening of the socialist GDR, and for a secure peace. You have made a constructive contribution to fulfilling economic tasks of new dimensions, which often required greater efforts than what you were accustomed to.

At the seventh session of the SED Central Committee, in preparing for the 12th SED Congress, we outlined the upcoming tasks in the further development of the developed socialist society. Thus, you are directing your efforts in a responsible manner toward the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and toward increasing your contributions to the course of the unity of economic and social policy as the core of our economic strategy. The successful fulfillment of the 1989 National Economic Plan and the careful preparation of a realistic and at the same time challenging plan for 1990 will be a great test of the high level of your knowledge and abilities.

It is also important now, prior to the beginning of the 1991-95 5-year period, to map out the tasks that are to be realized during this period with a view to the year 2000. It is important now to create the required preconditions to secure a 4-percent increase in national income percent in the future, based on our own achievements and which is vital for continuing the policy of the main task.

A considerable number of tasks has to be fulfilled in this respect. You rightly base your considerations on the importance of linking the advantages of socialism and its planned economy even more efficiently with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution. Changes in the structure of our economy on the basis of key technologies are to be consistently continued and accelerated. Great attention is to be devoted to the comprehensive utilization of microelectronics in particular, together with the modernization and rationalization of the entire national economy, including the upgrading of production. Top priority is to be given to the task of strengthening the accumulative strength of the production sphere. In this connection it is important to increase the portion of accumulation in the production sphere, while ensuring at the same time the most efficient use of investments. What is important now is to make wise use of the state plan for investments as an instrument of central management and planning of the national economy.

In proceeding on this path, which is determined by our economic strategy, labor productivity, efficiency, and quality are to be increased decisively, and production input and costs are to be reduced in order to achieve an increase in the final product to ensure sufficient supply to the population and to the economy, and to promote exports.

You bear great responsibility for the steady improvement of the socialist planned economy in the GDR. The resolutions aimed at further perfecting the combines' work contain the demand that you use your great experiences and ideas in order to develop the principle of self-financing in a more comprehensive manner in the interest of high-level economic achievements. It is also important to link central state management and planning increasingly efficiently with the activities of the working people, the independent activities of the combines, enterprises, cooperatives, and local state organs. Economic calculations and accurate balancing must be accorded even greater importance.

New demands on your work result from the further strengthening of cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA countries in the spheres of science, technology, and production. In this connection, attractive export offers that correspond to the requirements of the partner countries assume increasing significance.

The SED Central Committee is confident that all employees of the planning organs in the combines, enterprises, and institutions, as well as in the local and central state apparatus will do their best, in a resourceful manner and with great commitment, in the 40th year of the GDR's existence in the interest of and for the benefit of all citizens of the first socialist worker-peasant state on German soil. In this, we wish you and your families much success, health, and well-being.

With socialist greetings,

SED Central Committee
E. Honecker,
General secretary

Individuals With Weapons, Explosives Arrested

AU1603120589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the GDR border troops have prevented a criminal act in Osterburg Kreis. The perpetrators were masked and carried arms and explosives in order to commit their crimes. They were arrested and taken to the responsible organs for further investigations.

Further on 15 Mar National Day Celebrations

Jubilant Opposition in Budapest

PM1703102489 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Mar 89 pp 1, 4

[Sylvie Kauffmann dispatch: "Nationalist Jubilation in Budapest"]

[Excerpts] Budapest—If you looked carefully you could find a red flag in Budapest on Wednesday 15 March modestly flying from the Central Committee building—the last refuge of the symbols of communist power. It was the only red flag lost in a sea of tricolor flags hung out by the Hungarians to mark their new national day—the anniversary of the start of the Hungarian revolution against Austrian domination on 15 March 1848 in the wake of the Paris Commune. [Passage omitted]

For the first time, 15 March was a holiday and unofficial demonstrations were allowed. In a final attempt at fraternization, the MSZMP—the ruling communist party—suggested joint celebrations of this date which is so dear to Hungarian hearts to the many independent groups which have been formed in Hungary over the past year, but the offer was politely turned down as premature. "We cannot forget the police attacks" in recent years when the inhabitants of Budapest obstinately flouted the ban on demonstrations, Karoly Kis, one of the many opposition speakers said on Wednesday. "They have always tried to make it their celebration." [passage omitted]

To symbolically reenact the exploits of the revolutionaries on 15 March 1848 who occupied a printing works, and those in 1956 who tried to seize the radio station, they "captured" the television station. This operation, which caused acute anxiety in the government, was in fact carried out by 12 children who merely hung out a huge banner reading: "Free Hungarian Television" under which Gyorgy Cserhalmi, a famous actor who looks rather like Depardieu and had 3 days' growth of beard, read out the independent groups' 12 demands.

The ones which prompted the most enthusiastic applause were, in order of precedence: a "neutral and independent Hungary" with the withdrawal of Soviet troops; the dismantling of the workers' militia; the restoration of the nation's original coat of arms; and the truth about 1956. [Passage omitted]

Distrust was expressed by [Free Democrats Alliance leadership member] Janos Kis who wants "a peaceful transition not a national disaster." "The Communists are offering us a share in government if we accept the supremacy of the party-state and responsibility for the economic crisis," he said. "We are proposing to them that we should have a position equal to theirs among the new Hungary's parties if they accept democratic pluralism based on free elections." Kis then appealed for national unity against the crisis, preceded by a real "coalition of democratic parties and movements," which would be "a partner which the MSZMP could not ignore."

Further on Pozsgay Address

LD1603111489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Yesterday in Gyor, Imre Pozsgay, Politburo member and minister of state, gave a 15 March festive speech. We now present a few extracts:

[Begin Pozsgay recording] Hungary today, on this day, is again celebrating after many years, amid wide-ranging national resolutions and the accompanying debates. However, it is celebrating together, without approbation or particular ambitions, paying attention only to a particular endeavor: Will we be a nation on the ascendant, or is our fate to be sucked under? I believe that this holiday will show us at our best, in possession of our best abilities—the ability to carry out the creation of a free, democratic Hungary.

We still vacillate, we are looking for possibilities to express ourselves, our words are uncertain, although I think that the proper intentions in this country can be counted in the millions. We are searching for the way to reach each other, for the possibility of communication, and it is a particularly great joy for me, for all of us, that here in Gyor, in this square, we were able to meet in the spirit of a joint, national uplifting,. I would like to proclaim this example throughout the country and the world.

A nation capable of action can only be formed together with genuine policies, genuine politicians, with people who do not play with words. [applause] The garb of democracy will be difficult attire for us to begin with. We will feel only its discomfort, tension, and unease, which are also inherent in dissension. But sooner or later, we will learn its ins and outs, because it will be our job to grow into this. Democracy has been cut out for us. The Hungarian people have the maturity to govern themselves.

My friends, my compatriots, why are we able to bear the frictions of democracy? Because, in the depths of our souls, without having been taught, and without schoolmasters, we know something: that democracy begins when I want to be considered a human being, when I regard my fellow citizens as human beings. [applause] It begins as simply as that. Only upon this understanding can be built the institutions capable of functioning, of tolerating both the clashes and the unity forged out of the clashes. And while we catalog these clashes we think things through.

Let us also think that we would now like a time for great preparations, a constitutional state, a new constitutionality, in such a way that the guarantees should also lie in

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Let us also think that we would now like a time for great preparations, a constitutional state, a new constitutionality, in such a way that the guarantees should also lie in elections against other parties. As soon as the party law is created, it will request its registration as a party, if the party law does not contradict the AFD's statement of principle.

The AFD also proposes that the independent organizations, before further talks with the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], should hold an independents' roundtable so that they can continue the dialogue with the communists on common stands.

Speaking about yesterday's 15 March celebrations, Imre Mecs, on behalf of the AFD, declared that the press had in general correctly covered the actions of the independent organizations, but that television had handled the organizations' 12 demands in an arbitrary manner. It had not covered some very important demands or had shown them only late at night.

Further on News Conference

LD1703043889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] The AFD held an international news conference today. They told journalists that they intend to participate in the elections next year. The AFD leadership also set out the view that the opposition could, indeed, be a partner as well as a rival of the MSZMP in the implementation of a peaceful, democratic transition. Peter Marvanyi reports:

[Marvanyi] The AFD is not becoming a party, but is functioning as a party already and as soon as the party act is born it will register, provided the party act does not contradict the AFD's declaration of principle. All this is, as yet, a proposal and not a decision; the decision will be made at the AFD general assembly. The draft program outlining the future perspective and the road leading to it also will be voted on on Sunday.

According to Ivan Peto, the program proves that—in contrast with views voiced in the past and being voiced at the present—the opposition does have a concept about all this and does not indulge merely in loud talking. Nor is it true that the philosophy of the opposition is based, either for worse or better, on logic.

The program delineates those mechanisms through which the social, economic, and political system would change, through which the independent organizations would have a permanent relationship, would be able to make a united stand, would be able to carry out a dialogue with the political power without this meaning a coalition, an apparent national unity, or a so-called consensus with those in power.

Laying down the constitution must not be over-hasty, Peter Tolgyesi said. What is needed is not a new Constitution, but constitutional legality, constitutional relations. Janos Kis said that it was only a difference of views of a tactical nature between the AFD and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] as to whether a constituent assembly should be convened on the basis of national elections brought forward or whether the outcome of the 1990 elections should be awaited first and it would be only after that that the new constitution should be laid down.

Regarding the question of principle, according to which the present parliament was not elected democratically and therefore cannot provide a democratic constitution for the country, both sides agree in the long run. In Peter Toelgyesi's view, the draft constitution proposed by the MSZMP is much more democratic in terms of its proposals about the country's structure, but in many respects, it would dictate the conditions of the consensus in a one-sided fashion.

As for the economic problem of the AFD, the economy based on nationalized production and on large cooperatives must be denationalized. The government should interfere with the economy only in terms of the amount of money issued [kibocsaitott]. The transition from a rigid price system to a market economy cannot be effected without inflation, but it could be possible to reduce the rate of price rises. For the maintenance of social political institutions and the development of the efficient part of the economy, money could be created by reducing military expenditure and by halting big projects. As to how we can balance our 20 billion forints in debts with production capable of bringing about exports worth five billion forints, well, regarding this question Marton Tardos replied that if a new economic system evolves in Hungary, then we can expect that the concrete burdens of the debt crisis to ease.

Regarding the enormous mass demonstration yesterday, on 15 March, Imre Mecs declared that Hungarian television broke its word because the 12-point demand read out in front of the television building was not broadcast in full, in prime time, and was transmitted only in the late-night program.

To Decide on Party Registration

LD1603234489 Budapest MTI in English 2011 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 16 (MTI)—Although the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) is operating as a political party and seeks to take part in the elections, its general assembly on March 19 is to decide whether the alliance is to formally register itself as a party after the party law has taken effect, Ferenc Koszeg, member of the executive body, told the press, Thursday [16 March].

Marton Tardos, member of the SZDSZ Council, said that the Free Democrats held it their most pressing task to strengthen their movement and organization. The SZDSZ draft programme outlines both the future of the country and, in certain aspects, how it can be achieved, said Ivan Peto. He added that the alliance held it inconceivable to find a third-road solution, namely a society that combines the advantages of a Western capitalist and an East European socialist society but does not take over the drawbacks. At the same time, there is a 'third-type' situation in Hungary, for which specific solutions should be found, he said.

Grosz, PLO's 'Arafat Begin Talks 16 Mar

LD1603120389 Budapest MTI in English
1100 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 16 (MTI)—Talks between Karoly Grosz and Yasir 'Arafat began at HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee headquarters late this morning. The president of the Executive Committee of the Palestinian Liberation Organization is in Hungary at the invitation of the general secretary of the HSWP.

The entourage of the high-ranking Palestinian official includes Sulayman al-Najab, member of the PLO Executive Committee and general secretary of the Communist Party of Palestine, Mamduh Nufal ['Umar Nufal 'Abd al-Rahim], member of the Political Committee of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, as well as 'Abdal-Latif Abu Hajla, deputy head of the PLO Political Department.

From the Hungarian side, Geza Kotai, head of the Central Committee's. Department for International Party Relations, will also be at the negotiating table.

Karoly Grosz Receives Nicaragua's Nunez

LD1003220789 Budapest MTI in English
1802 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 10 (MTI)—On Friday [10 March], Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], met Carlos Nunez, member of the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and president of the Nicaraguan National Assembly. Senor Nunez is in Hungary at the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee.

Mr Grosz discussed Hungarian interest in solving the global problems that afflict the developing world. He stressed that the HSWP declares its solidarity for the fight of the Nicaraguan people, and is full of admiration for the flexibility which the Sandinista leadership shows in the handling of the Central American crisis. Mr Grosz welcomed the agreements reached at the El Salvador meeting of the region's heads of state.

Senor Nunez termed the international solidarity shown towards Nicaragua, and within this the support of the HSWP and the Hungarian social and mass organizations, to be of major importance.

Grosz Chairs Security, Foreign Relations Meeting

LD1303224689 Budapest MTI in English
2059 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—The international, legal and public administration policy committee of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a session on March 13 under the chairmanship of Karoly Grosz, and discussed a report on the foreign and security political situation of the Hungarian People's Republic. The committee considers it important for Hungarian foreign policy to facilitate, as previously, the country's home political and economic development and its more intensive catching up with the vanguard of economic, technical and scientific progress.

The committee holds that Hungary's security, political environment and position, the favourable changes in international life and the new political thinking make it possible and necessary to increasingly put into practice the defensive nature of our military doctrine.

On discussing Hungary's activity in the Warsaw Treaty, the committee stressed that despite the favourable changes, no turn has come about in international life which would allow for the elimination of the military-political alliance systems. The existence and operation of the Warsaw Treaty remains an invariably important factor of guaranteeing Hungary's security. The committee proposes to the competent party and state bodies that Hungarian foreign policy should continue to take a stand for the development of partner relations and democratic cooperation forms within the Warsaw Treaty and support the simultaneous abolition of military blocs.

Grosz Addresses 9 Mar Dunaujvaros Rally

LD0903210989 Budapest MTI in English
1936 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 9 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], visited Dunaujvaros on Thursday [9 March] afternoon. At a workers' rally held in the Dunaferr sports hall, attended by some 2,000 people, Mr Grosz reported on the short-range plans of the HSWP discussed at the Tuesday session of the Central Committee and answered questions.

Grosz Attends Letenye Town Inauguration

LD1103214289 Budapest MTI in English
1718 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI)—Letenye of Zala County became a town on Saturday [11 March]. The festive session of the local council was attended by Karoly Grosz, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary.

After seeing the new facilities of the town, Mr Grosz addressed a rally of some 3,000 workers in the workshop hall of a new veneer mill. Mr Grosz spoke about the HSWP's endeavours for renewal, its programmes of advancement, and the topical issues of Hungary's social, political and economic life.

Satire Program Interviews 'Grosz' on Issues

LD1503114989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1940 GMT 6 Mar 89

[From the "Radio Cabaret" program; spoof interview with unidentified correspondent/actor in the role of Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; remarks by character playing Karoly Grosz identified by editorial notation "Grosz" throughout]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary, who has the aim of spreading press openness, has again received two correspondents. As we know, on 12 February he gave an interview to the editor-in-chief of "The Week" program, Endre Aczel, and to the responsible editor of the "168 Hours" program, Akos Mester. This time two other political programs have been honored in this way. Karoly Grosz's interlocutors are the editor-in-chief of the television newsreel, Endre Aczel, and the leading reporter of "News Background," Akos Mester.

["Grosz"] You have a good color, Akos Mester. Have you been sunbathing?

[Mester] Solarium.

["Grosz"] On the other hand, you, Comrade Aczel, look a bit burned.

[Aczel] Indeed. Luckily the fire [in the television center earlier this year] was put out just in time. We came within a hair's breadth of losing the entire archive of the television newsreel. [passage omitted]

[Mester] I believe that some of our older politicians would not have minded if the entire archive was destroyed.

["Grosz"] As a middle-aged politician I believe that there is only one thing more dangerous than a statement made today.

[Aczel] What?

["Grosz"] A statement made yesterday.

[Mester] In our interview in February we asked you whether the party notices the process of transition to the multiparty system or whether it also supports it.

["Grosz"] I remember.

[Mester] You replied that it does not only support it, does not only notice it, but it also initiates it.

["Grosz"] Correct.

[Mester] In November, on the other hand, when you were asked whether you were gong to initiate the transition to the multiparty sytem, you said: Come off it; what ruling party would initiate such a thing?

["Grosz"] Correct.

[Mester] Do you not perceive a certain contradiction in your replies?

["Grosz"] I do not. Because in November I asked myself: What ruling party would initiate such a thing? Well, in February I replied: That party is the MSZMP.

[Aczel] In October you told MAGYAR HIRLAP—I have it here—that the nature of the tragic events of October 1956 was, before all else, counterrevolutionary. In February, however, you told the television that 1956 started as an uprising, then the counterrevolutionary elements gradually strengthened.

["Grosz"] Indeed, I have only just completed this open sentence. As a matter of fact, in October I said that 1956 was, before everything else, a counterrevolution. Well, since then, having read the report of the historical committee, I would amend this by saying that 1956 was a counterrevolution, after everything else. Before everything else it was a people's uprising.

[Mester] A few years ago Janos Berecz wrote a book entitled: "Counterrevolution with Pen and Weapons." Well, is it possible that he will now write a foreword to it entitled: "People's Uprising with Pen and Weapons?"

["Grosz"] I can give an absolutely precise answer to this question: To the best of my knowledge I am Karoly Grosz. So, ask Janos Berecz.

[Aczel] Last time you mentioned to us that after Imre Pozsgay's announcement that 1956 was a people's uprising, you received some 5,000 letters and of these only 11 suported Imre Pozsgay's views.

[Mester] Whereas Pozsgay, though he gave no figures, said that he received letters that mostly supported his views.

["Grosz"] It is true that he gave no figures, but he admitted to me that he also received precisely 11 letters which supported not his but my views. We swapped these 11 letters; thus, ever since then we both have in our possession exclusively letters of praise. [passage omitted]

Medgyessy Interviewed on 'Crisis' in CEMA

AU1603150289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Mar 89 p 8

[Interview with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy by correspondent Andras Szigethy: "CEMA—Hungary—EEC"—date, place not given]

[Text] Hungary's relations with CEMA and the Warsaw Pact have proven to be decisive from the viewpoint of economic and social development in the recent 50 years of this country's history. What opportunities are there in today's world for advancement toward a developed West European center? What are the dilemmas this policy is facing and what questions should the government answer? Among other things, we talked about these issues with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy.

[Szigethy] Is Hungary facing a choice today in considering it as a historical question: either a CEMA orientation, or moving toward the EEC?

[Medgyessy] This question is seldom asked so harshly. However, if you ask, my answer is that the Hungarian economy indeed needs a change in orientation.

[Szigethy] Is this because CEMA is in crisis?

[Medgyessy] It has become absolutely clear that, in the current framework, CEMA has exhausted its possibilities. It needs total renewal, and thus, in this respect, one can also say that there is a crisis in CEMA today. We can no longer work well together in the old way and the current rigid mechanism. However, neither Hungary nor any other CEMA member country aims at disheveling CEMA because this would lead to unforeseeable consequences in the economy of the member countries. However, we have to modify our system of cooperation, and this is no longer just a desire but a pressing need.

[Szigethy] Is this claimed only by Hungary, or other countries which also have the same interest?

[Medgyessy] Other countries are also interested in modifying the current mechanism. We need bilateral cooperation based on world market foundations. We started consultations on these matters at the last session of the mixed Hungarian-Soviet committee. The Soviet Union does not refuse to consider this concept at all.

If we started to trade on a world market basis with the Soviet Union and, if possible, also with other CEMA member countries, we would lose during the moment of transition. We have to make this loss somehow tolerable, think over its consequences, and discuss the issue with our partners, and, of course, we also have to thoroughly prepare ourselves to find a way to make this loss tolerable. However, it is my conviction that this shift is inevitable today. This is essential for economic restructuring in the long term. Today, it is increasingly difficult to find new markets or preserve old ones in the world. Therefore, I think it is senseless to put the question as many do, namely that a change in our economic orientation should simultaneously mean a withdrawal from the CEMA market. The world is striving for large markets today, like the Soviet Union, because a large-capacity market will almost automatically increase rentability. However, the developed countries are conducting a convertible accounting with the Soviet economy. Thus, we have to put our CEMA relations, including our relations with the Soviet Union, on a world market basis.

[Szigethy] With whom could we cooperate on such a basis?

[Medgyessy] Unfortunately, we are facing multiple difficulties in this respect. The countries that would be interested from the viewpoint of their level of development have different views about the market. In the case of countries where the market views are similar to ours, cooperation is difficult because of their economic instability. Let me put it in concrete terms: I can envisage trade on a world market basis with two or three countries: the Soviet Union, the CSSR, and Yugoslavia, although the latter is not a member of CEMA.

[Szigethy] In other words, as a CEMA and Warsaw Pact member country, we have to advance toward the EEC. It this not nonsense?

[Medgyessy] This is the only rational and possible way. It is clearly the open goal of the Hungarian foreign policy efforts to promote a Europe free of military blocs through its active contribution. We want to fulfill a double task or—if I am allowed to put it in somewhat more elevated terms—a historical mission with this concept and our consistent policy. With our own means and possibilities, we want to promote a neutralization of Europe, and at the same time, its standardization, by building a bridge between East and West, and simultaneously serving our national interests. We have no other real possibility but to advance on the road leading to a developed European center, on the basis of our traditions, civilization, and culture, together with the historical realities of the recent almost 50 years. Our agreement signed with the EEC in September 1988 was one stage on this road. Through this agreement, the road leads to consistent, steady, and orderly relations with the EEC countries and with the EC itself. Through these contacts, we can make sure that we are not completely left out of the events that take place in the EEC. This EEC is an organization that is already a considerable power, but I think it will become a decisive world economic factor particularly after 1992. We should clearly see that one has to adjust to this center. Our agreement provides some sort of holding to this adjustment. For us, these are correct and acceptable relations that include opportunities for advancement.

[Szigethy] Obviously, many people ask themselves the question with justification: Even if we advance toward the developed center, can we only reach its external confines? Does this fact not mean that we will end up in some sort of modern half-colony dependence on Western Europe?

[Medgyessy] The only thing I can say about this is that it would lead to a disastrous dependence if we did not even try to advance in that direction or we did not even want to get closer to this high standard. This would lead us to a final loss of touch and a complete loss of direction.

[Szigethy] Are there realistic opportunities today for building up very close contacts with the EEC?

[Medgyessy] No, there are not, and not only because the EEC is also busy with its own affairs concerning 1992.

There are no realistic opportunities for this because our unmatured market mechanism, our semi-market relations, our conditions, and our enterprises would simply be unable to meet the challenges of the EEC. Our economy as a whole, our citizens, our price and wage systems, and our social structure would not be able to cope with this. We would get mixed up into a maze of questions which we would simply find impossible to solve. There is only one way for us: to gradually and consistently open up the Hungarian economy and society to the developed Europe, and through it, to the developed world at large. We are consistently following this road, but unfortunately, there are also tough requirements on this road, requirements that affect our citizens so much.

[Szigethy] In the course of your work as a deputy premier, have you not felt that the Soviet Union was dealing with the issue of Hungary's approach to Western Europe as a military-strategic issue, and was trying to halt this development?

[Medgyessy] I cannot talk about the past because I have no experience with the past. This could have happened in the Brezhnev era. All I can say is that I have not experienced any signs of this during my talks. I can see, however, that the Soviet Union is showing a certain sympathy and interest toward our foreign policy activity.

[Szigethy] You have met with a lot of leading West European statesmen. What is their opinion about our domestic policy and the changes?

[Medgyessy] Indeed, I have met many European leaders in the past few months. All of them welcomed the fact that Hungary wanted to catch up with the European development process and break away from its peripheric position. However, many well-known politicians think that the pace of this development is too quick. For example, Fanfani, who for many years has been one of the decisive personalities in Europe, warned us to be careful because no matter how positive and correct our political strategy might be, it is worthless if society is unable to follow us. If people are unable to assimilate, digest, and accept the extremely fast and sudden changes, sooner or later this will lead to an explosion. This is indeed a very serious message that should be considered. Unfortunately, for many years, our political leadership did not have to use real arguments and convincing and clear words to make people accept its concepts. In reality, this leadership was not forced to really engage in politics because the issues could be settled on a power basis.

[Szigethy] Today, however, we want to catch up with Europe mostly in the relations between government and society and in the process of democratization.

[Medgyessy] Yes. Hungarian society has begun to catch up with the process of democratization in Europe. If there is anything by which we can prove our civilization and the fact that we belong in Europe, then it is the fact that we can make a transition into another society of a different quality and economy without any explosion, by refraining from unjustifiably denying our past and discarding ideas that should not be discarded at all. At long last, we can develop our own relations in an organic development process.

[Szigethy] Is the Hungarian political leadership united in envisaging our future in Hungary's advancement toward the developed areas of Europe?

[Medgyessy] Let me make a detour here. Young people today say that, compared to feudal Hungary, we have obviously developed a lot; we do not want to compare ourselves to feudal Hungary but to the developed European standards. Nor can the Hungarian political leadership envisage Hungary's future otherwise, only in the way that we can serve our national interests well only if we strengthen our European character and our connection with Europe, and if we take into account that we have to live and cooperate in this area. We sincerely hope that the negotiations with the European Parliament will also lead to joint membership relations. This means that we will be able to declare ourselves Hungarians, socialists, and Europeans, and this would also include a modern Hungarian economy that cooperates with the world economy and the unity of national and European culture; a democratic society is the nation-preserving force and framework of all this. If, in this respect, we say that a strategic change has taken place in Hungary's political life, I will accept this formulation because it is true.

Marosan Views Country's Future Course

AU1503151989 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 15 Mar 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Hungarian Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan by Erich Feichtinger in Vienna: "A Joke of History?"; date not given]

[Text] One thing is clear to Marosan: "Old socialism," the "Stalinist" and "bureaucratic" socialism, now belong to the past. What is emerging now is a "democratic" and "humanist" socialism. In the field of the economy, elements of the "market economy" are to be introduced.

A number of "factors of uncertainty" are to be tackled in this process.

—The rate of inflation was 16.5 percent last year. "Society considered this unacceptable." Through enormous efforts, rates of 12 to 14 percent were achieved this year. "However, it will be difficult to maintain this level, and the famous wage-price spiral might be triggered" because wages will be deregulated as a result of the liberalization.
—Hungary is heavily in debt. "The payment of interest and the repayment of capital are among the most difficult tasks. Our current account continues to show a deficit."
—Current large projects, such as the Nagymaros hydroelectric plant and the world exposition, involve immense costs and cause disagreement among the people.

"We have a clear program today, but events do not occur in accordance with the plan; rather, they happen unexpectedly," Marosan pointed out.

What is this "clear program" like?

"The outlines of the program of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]" are similar to those of the program of the Hungarian social democrats, which is only slightly different from that of the Socialist Party of Austria.

Thatcherism or Palme's Way

And the details? What measures are planned in the sphere of the economy?

Marosan maps out the course: "The question is whether we will take the path of Mrs Thatcher or Olof Palme. We certainly want to pursue the course of Olof Palme."

If the Iron Lady represents the most conservative position, is Olof Palme's economic policy the most leftist course that Budapest is willing to adopt? However, Olof Palme was prime minister of a capitalist and not of a socialist country.

"Hungary wants to examine developments in the whole world without prejudice. However, Hungary's actual problems require true Hungarian solutions. This has also been stipulated in the MSZMP resolutions.

"What we want is a synthesis of communist and social democratic ideas. One must not forget that the MSZMP is a united party. Maybe it was a mistake that the social democratic movement was not really alive in the past. Many elements of social democracy should be incorporated into the MSZMP."

Irrespective of this, will the IMF and other Western creditors allow Hungary to decide independently whether it wants take the path of Palme or Thatcher?

"The Hungarian Government is sovereign—as far as this is possible. I believe that in essence the economic policy of the MSZMP is very close to what has been suggested by the IMF. Advice will, of course, be taken into account, but the decisions will ultimately be made in Hungary."

We do not want to compare Hungary with Venezuela....

"You are welcome to do that."

Are You Afraid?

...We only want to state that violent protests have erupted in countries whose economic policies have been oriented toward the IMF's guidelines. Are you afraid that something similar might happen in your country?

"We are not afraid, but we are concerned. We have to face reality. It has become very clear that people are fed up with price increases and the whole situation. This is all the more terrible because they believe that there is no way out."

Do you see a way out?

"It may be a bad joke of history that a communist government should resort to capitalist means to provide relief. However, I would like to stress again that Hungary has no other choice and that there is no other way out.

"The possibilities of the previous model have been fully exhausted."

So the market economy is the only remedy left?

"We do not consider the market economy to be the ultimate achievement. As a matter of fact, we see all the problems that Marx or Lenin described, and we still understand them today."

What reactions to economic liberalization do you expect from the Hungarian trade unions?

"Probably the same reactions that would come from trade unions all over the world. The government is sometimes harshly criticized by the trade unions—and also in a polemical manner—for various measures it has taken. In my opinion, however, this cannot be avoided."

Mr Marosan, to our great surprise we learned that Hungary's Minister Beck while in the FRG had offered a number of your country's most important enterprises for sale. This points more in the direction of Thatcher than that of Palme.

"That is true. However, one must not forget what the starting position was like. A total of 95 percent of our industry is still owned by the state. Reprivatizing the whole of industry would be a different thing. In the present case, only 20 to 25 percent are affected."

So this is not a sellout of socialism?

"Fortunately we are not afraid of selling off our industry to ourselves or to others. What is under discussion here is introducing private ownership of up to 25 percent (of production means)."

Spokesman Denies Romanian Reunification Accord

LD1603174589 Budapest MTI in English 1631 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 16 (MTI)—Hungary and Romania has no secret agreement on the settlement of cases of family reunification, said the spokesman for the Hungarian Foreign Ministry in reply to the question of MTI's correspondent. The spokesman added that in recent weeks, on Hungarian initiative and with the cooperation of Romanian authorities, several minors have left Romania to join their parents in Hungary.

In the UN Commission on Human Rights, Hungary was co-author of the resolution which calls for investigating the position of human rights situation in Romania.

Romanian Refugees, Exit Permits Detailed

LD1603224189 Budapest MTI in English 2005 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 16 (MTI)—In the past few days more than 100 refugees from Romania who have arrived to join relatives in Hungary, have turned to the Hungarian Red Cross. According to the data of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under family reunification more than 200 people have received exit visas, said Arpad Alfoldy, deputy general secretary of the Hungarian Red Cross (HRC) at the Thursday [16 March] meeting of the HRC National Board. In 1988, more than 13,000 refugees were granted a residence permit in Hungary. The Red Cross provided aid in cash, furniture and clothes on more than 30,000 occasions. So far 26.5 million forints have been contributed to the central relief account, out of which more than 18 million forints has been allocated to those in need. The value of objects of use and clothes offered for the refugees totalled 20 million forints.

The HRC Social Committee in charge of refugees holds it necessary to set up an office of refugee affairs, which would coordinate national activity and supervise the receiving stations.

Romanian Refugees' Anti-Ceausescu Letter Noted

AU1603195589 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 15 Mar 89 p 3

["Open Letter by 'Free Romania' Group"]

[Text] The "Free Romania" group, whose members were forced to leave their homeland and families simply because Mr Ceausescu's political and economic power is based on such "democratic foundations," and because the citizens of this country, irrespective of their national affiliation, have equal rights to be cold and hungry and to be compelled to trumpet the leader's praise, learned with indignation about the speech by Romanian Ambassador Gheorghe Dolgu in Geneva.

Obviously under orders from Bucharest, Gheorghe Dolgu conducted a savage onslaught against the Hungarian state, accused it of "irredentist demands," and had the nerve to instruct State Secretary Gyula Horn to deal with the "anti-Romanian activity of Hungarian reactionary circles."

We, the members of Free Romania, participated in the large-scale demonstration organized on Hero's Square in Budapest on 27 June 1988; we Romanians were filled with pride; and for the first time in our lives, we felt what it means to hoist our national flag, and not at the order of the party general secretary. We surely noted the Hungarian "irredentist efforts" in the tearful eyes of people protesting the "territorial systematization," while, for the first time in their lives, they were able to see the Romanian and Hungarian national flags flying in friendly togetherness in the capital city of the same country that was accused in Geneva of following the goals of the Habsburg monarchy and of inciting national controversy.

"Free Romania" warns the writers of the Geneva text that the Hungarian circles they term reactionary and anti-Romanian do not confuse the Romanian people with Mr Ceausescu's regime.

We take this opportunity to protest the description of the "Free Romania" group, a description made in bad taste, as a "reactionary Hungarian circle." We are political refugees, sons and daughters of Romania, Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Armenians, and Bulgarians who suffered together in Romania and who are fighting together to implement the ideals of democracy and freedom of the Romanian people.

The Committee of "Free Romania"

Nemeth Begins Environmental Talks in The Hague

Departs From Budapest

LD1003180989 Budapest MTI in English 1601 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 10 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth left for The Hague on Friday [10 March], to attend the environmental protection conference of heads of state and prime ministers.

Accompanying Mr Nemeth are Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs and Deputy Minister of Environmental Protection and Water Management Gyorgy Perczel.

Arrives 10 Mar

LD1103093689 Budapest MTI in English 2011 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] The Hague, March 10 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth arrived in The Hague on Friday to attend the environmental protection conference of heads of state and prime ministers.

Meets European Ministers

LD1103205389 Budapest MTI in English 1623 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] The Hague, March 11 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, who is attending a summit on environmental protection in The Hague, held bilateral talks on Saturday [11 March].

First he met his Dutch counterpart, Ruud Lubbers, who was an initiator of the conference. Later on he held talks with Prime Ministers Michel Rocard of France and Ingvar Carlsson of Sweden in Kurhaus Hotel, the residence of the heads of states and governments.

According to a special MTI correspondent, Mr Nemeth and Mr Lubbers agreed on the timeliness of an official Hungarian-Dutch prime ministerial meeting. The Dutch prime minister invited Mr Nemeth for an official visit to the Netherlands next autumn. The sides agreed that the more rapid development of economic relations would require broader exchanges of views. They held discussions on the implementation of agreements to be passed at the environmental meeting in The Hague.

During his talks with Mr Rocard, the Hungarian prime minister stressed that he experienced a favourable shift in Hungarian-French relations. He reminded his partner that he had a valid invitation to Hungary. Mr Rocard stressed that he would be pleased to meet the invitation, most probably within a year. He remarked that he had been to Hungary as a minister of agriculture but he thought Hungary's latest development would provide interesting experience for him. Mr Rocard emphasized that Hungary was the only socialist country to attend the Hague summit. He added that the Soviet Union had not been invited because the United States had indicated earlier that it would not take part in the meeting.

Ingvar Carlsson and Miklos Nemeth agreed that the two countries were maintaining very good bilateral relations. The Hungarian prime minister reminded also Mr Carlsson of his valid invitation to Hungary. The Swedish prime minister answered that he would like to visit Hungary simultaneously with the opening of the IKEA department store in Budapest, underlining that way the importance of Hungarian-Swedish joint ventures and companies. The sides held talks on East-West relations, on other international affairs, and on what the establishment in 1992 of the 'common Europe' would mean for outsiders.

The talks were attended by Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs.

Varkonyi Begins Official Talks in London

Meets With Geoffrey Howe

LD1503163889 Budapest MTI in English 1412 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] London, March 15 (MTI)—Official talks opened in London on Wednesday [15 March] between Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi and British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Sir Geoffrey Howe. The discussions on the intensely developing Hungarian-British relations and the development of the East-West dialogue continued at the working lunch which Sir Geoffrey hosted in honour of Mr Varkonyi.

Prior to the talks, Mr Varkonyi met Sir Christopher Collett, mayor of London, and then visited the Barbican Centre, where he was briefed on the preparations for one of the most prestigious Hungarian artistic festivals of the century in London by Patrick Renney, president of the theatre, stage, music and fine arts centre. For four weeks this autumn, the Barbican Centre will be the venue of Hungarian concerts, exhibitions, poetry events, film and folk art shows.

Continues Talks With Officials

LD1503224989 Budapest MTI in English 1942 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] London, March 15 (MTI)—Following his three-hour, extremely cordial talks, including a working lunch, with British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Sir Geoffrey Howe, Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi visited the British Ministry of Education and Sciences. At talks with Parliamentary State Secretary John Butcher, the sides reviewed the development of relations between the educational and scientific institutions of the two countries, and between experts of the educational and scientific fields.

Mr Varkonyi then met with members of the foreign affairs committee of the lower house, in the Westminster Palace. Great interest was shown for Mr Varkonyi's answers given to questions on the Hungarian economic and political reform processes.

Meets With Additional Officials

LD1603144189 Budapest MTI in English 1225 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] London, March 16 (MTI)—Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, is to meet with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at noon on Thursday [16 March].

Prior to the talks at 10 Downing Street, the head of the Hungarian diplomatic corps held talks with William Waldegrave, minister of state for foreign affairs at the Foreign Ministry.

In the morning, Mr Varkonyi met George Robertson, foreign spokesman of the opposition Labour Party, as well as the head and members of the British-Hungarian parliamentary group.

The Hungarian foreign minister will be meeting British journalists in the afternoon at the Hungarian Embassy in London, and then he will deliver a lecture entitled 'the latest political and economic developments in Hungary' at the Royal Institute for Foreign Affairs.

Addresses Foreign Institute

LD1603233889 Budapest MTI in English 2040 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] London, March 16 (MTI)—Concluding his two-day visit to London, Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi attended the reception given in his honour by Hungarian Ambassador Matyas Domokos at the Hungarian Embassy Thursday [16 March] evening.

After his talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the Hungarian foreign minister was hosted at a lunch by Richard Francis, general director of the British Council. In the afternoon Mr Varkonyi held an informal consultation with a group of leading representatives of the press at the embassy.

Then Mr Varkonyi delivered a paper at Chatham House, the headquarters of the Royal Institute for Foreign Affairs, on the latest political and economic developments in Hungary.

Mr Varkonyi said that his visit, which formed part of the regular and continuous Hungarian-British political dialogue and high-level visits, was very useful for the further development of increasingly comprehensive and cordial relations between the two countries.

The Hungarian prime minister [as received] is to return Friday morning.

Szuros Receives International Rights Group

LD1703033889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Matyas Szuros received the delegation of the International Human Rights Association in the parliament building. The guests said that they would like to form a Hungarian chapter of the association. The association considers itself a humanitarian organization independent of governments. It investigates infringements of the rights of individuals that come to its attention.

Three groups with which the association maintains ties operate in the Soviet Union.

Matyas Szuros applauded this intention and said that the establishment of the Hungarian chapter of the International Human Rights Association faced neither legal nor political obstacles.

Gyorgy Fejti Departs on Visit to Poland

LD1603182989 Budapest MTI in English 1340 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 16 (MTI)—Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, left for Warsaw on Thursday [16 March] at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

There to see Mr Fejti off from Ferihegy Airport was Tadeusz Czechowicz, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to Hungary.

CPSU Delegation Visits Budapest 9-11 Mar

LD1103195189 Budapest MTI in English 1548 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI)—A delegation of the Central Committee [CC] of the Soviet Union, headed by Yuriy Zuyev, deputy head of the CC's Foreign Affairs Department, visited Budapest from March 9 to 11 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The delegation met Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, and Geza Kotai, member of the Central Committee and head of the CC's Department of International Party Relations. The Soviet guests held talks with Csaba Tabajdi, deputy head of the CC's Department of International Party Relations. The representatives of the two parties surveyed preparations for a many-sided, informal interparty roundtable conference to be held under the title 'The Future of Europe and European Cooperation on the Eve of the 1990s', and exchanged views on further international issues.

ROK Foreign Minister To Visit 'This March'

LD1003113989 Budapest MTI in English
1105 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Tokyo, March 10 (MTI)—Choe Ho-chung, foreign minister of the Republic of Korea, is the visit Hungary this March, announced MTI's Tokyo correspondent on the basis of YONHAP information. The primary aim of the visit will be to sign agreements with Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi on the elimination of double taxation and issues of scientific-technical cooperation.

Choe Ho-chung is also to meet HWSP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] General Secretary Karoly Grosz and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. According to Korean sources, the objective of the top level talks will be an exchange of views on political and economic cooperation, and preparations for the visits by Karoly Grosz and President No Tae-u.

Radio, TV Agreement Signed With ROK

LD0803215189 Budapest MTI in English
1953 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—Istvan Hajdu, president of Hungarian radio, and Su Yung-Hun, president of radio and television of the Republic of Korea, signed a three-year agreement in Budapest on Wednesday [8 March]. The sides are to organize common festivals and exchange programmes.

Gyula Bereczky, president of Hungarian television, signed a separate agreement with Mr Su on Wednesday. The parties agreed to exchange TV crews and make common programmes.

Cultural Agreement Signed With ROK

LD0903150689 Budapest MTI in English
1325 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Budpaest, March 9 (MIT)—Kim Song-chin, president of the International Cultural Association of the Republic of Korea, has signed a cooperation agreement with the general director of the International Cultural Institute of Hungary in Budapest. Mr Kim was in Budapest between 6 and 9 March.

The guest met Istvan Huszar, general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, Jozsef Benyi, deputy minister for foreign affairs, and Ferenc Ratkai, deputy minister of education.

Economic Protocol Signed With Japan

LD0803221389 Budapest MTI in English
2025 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Tokyo, March 8 (MTI)—The two-day session of the Japanese-Hungarian economic joint committee ended on Wednesday [8 March] in Tokyo with the signing of the protocol. Tibor Melega, deputy trade minister, who headed the Hungarian delegation, told MTI's correspondent:

'The current session of the joint committee—its sixth—has taken place after an absence of three-and-a-half years. In the meantime, Japan became a business partner of decisive importance to us, both financially and in credit relations. The past years have also seen a dynamic increase in our trade. Hungarian exports have increased four-fold since the last joint committee session, totalling 120 million dollars in value last year. Our trade balance, which previously showed a considerable Japanese surplus, has now become more balanced. There is still a lot to be done to utilize to the full the possibilities of our relations.

'The primary goal of our present discussions was to inform the Japanese Government and representatives of some major companies, including financial institutions, about the situation of the Hungarian economy, and the current reform process. Our Japanese partners are following the events taking place here with keen interest, lively interest was also shown in the possibilities open for investing capital', Mr Melega said.

The deputy trade minister was received by Japanese state secretary for foreign affairs, Makino Takamori, as well as other leading personalities of the Japanese economy.

Hungarian Troops To Join UN Forces in Namibia

AU1603213889 Budapest MTI in English
1848 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 14/03/1989—On the request of the UN secretary-general, a 22 strong Hungarian unit will join the civilian contingent of the UNTAG [United Nations Transition Assistance Group] group assisting the Namibian transition, as of April 1, 1989.

The UN group of military and civilian crews is to observe the smooth organization of elections scheduled for early November in Namibia. The military contingent, with an initial staff of 4,650 and an upper limit of 7,500, is to control ceasefire, and a civilian UN forces of 500 supervise the work of the local police authorities until the end of the elections.

Parliamentary Deputy Speaker Vida Resigns

LD1403230589 Budapest MTI in English
1625 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 14 (MTI)—Miklos Vida, deputy speaker of parliament, tendered his resignation as an MP in his constituency (Budapest, 8th district) on Tuesday [14 March]. He also asked the speaker of parliament that the next parliamentary session should relieve him of his post. Mr Vida's recall was initiated by the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) with a collection of signatures. Since the electoral board concluded that, for various reasons, a part of the signatures were not authentic, the request was rejected early March.

Csongrad Official Receives 'Death Threats'

LD1703035789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Imre Keseru, one of the new members of the Csongrad County MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Committee, made a statement on the "New Wave on Television" program. He said that he has received death threats on account of his political views. Here is Zsuzsa Ladanyi's interview on how and why:

[Keseru] In the course of the party battles over the past 3 months, my experience has been that the reformers have been putting forward arguments, while the response has been some kind of anger. I have heard a lot of cases in which it was mooted that our weapons ought to have been used in the recent past. I even read a draft in which this was considered. It is, in fact, a question concerning an article pondering a turnabout of a Stalinist nature. Now, let there be no misunderstanding: This type of case is very isolated. When the Workers Guard friendship circle was set up in Szentes at the start of February, a remark was made, as far as I know, to the effect that people such as Imre Pozsgay, Zoltan Kiraly, and my humble self should be expelled from the party. An individual jumped up at this and called out that people like these should not be expelled, but rather hanged.

The more I thought about this, the more I started to feel shivers up and down my spine. I myself am not able to judge how realistic this danger is. I would not even want to learn whether it is realistic or not. I teach history, and I know that in 1920 everybody laughed at Mussolini in Italy, and nobody thought that he had any real chance of taking power. I think that regardless of what percentage chances we predict for a turnabout of such a nature, if it has even a 1-percent chance of success, then one has to take a stand against it.

I lodged a report at the prosecutor's office against an unknown perpetrator. Well, this is literally termed an offense against the community [kozosseg megsertese].

[Ladanyi] What was the outcome?

[Keseru] This offense against the community is a rule of law which declares that if somebody slanders the state order, the socialist system, or makes statements that offend persons who hold socialist convictions—I do not know the precise expression—if he does this with a provably antisocialist intention, then this is incitement [izgatas]. If he does this with an intention that is not antisocialist, he thus has committed an crime termed an offense against the community. I have spoken to the prosecutor of the town of Szentes, who said that for his part he will refuse to investigate.

[Ladanyi] And what is going to happen now?

[Keseru] It is my definite intention that if I receive this ruling, then I will make—I do not know what they call it, some kind of lodging of complaint, I think—but I would like to pursue this until some type of investigation really gets under way here. This is because I would consider it tragic if this kind of tone were to spread. I think that in very many cases it is not the alternative organizations which this fundamentalist wing considers to be the main danger, but rather the reform trend within the party.

Literary Periodical To Begin Publication

LD1103194889 Budapest MTI in English 1656 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI)—"UK IDO" (New Time), a new literary periodical, was presented for the press in Budapest on Friday [10 March]. The first issue of the 48-page periodical will be published in March.

The editor-in-chief is Antal Vegh and the editorial board is composed of renowned writers Karoly Szakonyi, Gyula Hernadi, Istvan Csukas, Ervin Lazar and Tibor Gyurkovics.

Mr Vegh said that the periodical would be a forum for all Hungarian writers, and would be open to all literary schools and styles. It will also carry reviews and criticism, without hurting the human dignity of others, Mr Vegh said.

"UK IDO", which will be published in 100,000 copies, is the first venture of the UK IDO Ltd. publishing office.

Economic Performance for January Detailed

AU1503122189 Budapest MTI in English 1325 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 13/03/1989—Latest Central Statistics Office data reveal that the volume of Hungarian industrial production in January, 1989, exceeded that of the previous year by 3.2 per cent.

In more detail, the production of metallurgy production was 105.1, the machine industry 104.7, the chemical industry 100.2, the construction material industry 108.2, the light industry 103, and the food industry 102.8 per cent up on the figure for January, 1988.

Retail trade turnover—going on the current price index—surpassed that of last year by 28.2 per cent, including a 19-per-cent rise in the turnover of food products, as well as alcohol, coffee and tobacco. The figure was 46.1 per cent for clothing articles and 32.9 per cent for mixed industrial goods as against the figures for last year.

This January, the income of the population exceeded the figure for last January by 22.2 per cent. The consumer price index was at 111.1 per cent as compared to January, 1988, and 104.1 per cent as against the figure for December, 1988.

Postal Workers in Szczecin, Wroclaw End Strike
LD1603134189 Warsaw PAP in English 1131 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 16—Last night, employees of the district mail transportation office in Szczecin ended their sit-in strike after it had been agreed that money for pay rises would be obtained through job reductions in the office.

All post offices in Wroclaw also resumed work this morning as the workers suspended their strikes until April 30 a deadline for negotiations between the Federation of Trade Unions of Communcations Employees and the managers of the "Polish Post, Telegraph and Telephone" state communications enterprise.

Plock Transport Workers Discuss Ending Strike
LD1603141889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Zbigniew Duraczynski phone dispatch from Plock]

[Text] [Duraczynski] Yesterday evening, at the initiative of the ordinary of Plock Diocese, Bishop Zygmunt Kaminski, talks were renewed between representatives of the striking Municipal Transport Enterprise work force and the city administration, at the Plock administrative offices. I observed the progress of negotiations.

To begin with the discussions were difficult and did not augur agreement. After long intervals, however, a compromise gradually began to appear. In the end, we heard from Deputy Mayor Marian Hanus that a solution to the problem was possible. Afterward, a nighttime discussion with the striking work force awaited us journalists. The work force accepted the work guarantee and agreed to take it up on existing employment conditions. It may, therefore, be said that the conflict, which lasted 21 days, has been solved.

Talks are currently being conducted concerning the acceptance of the agreement. I hope that it will be signed and that, perhaps even today, some buses will leave the depots and begin running normally tomorrow.

Bakers Protest Low Wages in Warsaw
LD1603203589 Warsaw PAP in English 1809 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 16—Only rolls are being sold in Warsaw shops today which is due to an action taken by bakers united in the Warsaw cooperative of baking and pastry production "Spolem" who have protested in this way against what they call low pays and unprofitability of baking bread. The bakers are demanding a more than 100-per-cent rise of their basic wages.

A compromise has been achieved by increasing overtime work. A total of 8 larger and 20 smaller bakeries will be working overtime, also Saturdays and Sundays.

The cooperative's president, Jan Oleksy, said that in view of the fact that bread is sold at officially adjusted prices and its production is, in comparison with rolls, entirely unprofitable, adequate postulates have been forwarded to the government with request for analysing the situation and making decisions aimed to improve the production's profitability.

Urban Comments on Strikes, Economic 'Chaos'
LD1503203789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers is in session. We asked Minister Jerzy Urban to comment on the first part of the government meeting.

[Begin Urban recording] The government is still in session. I left the meeting to say that so far the government has held a general discussion on the situation in Poland, including strikes and wage demands.

At present, the postal strikes are the most inconvenient for the population, in particular pensioners. The strikes are petering out, but there are still such strikes in progress in Wroclaw and parts of Szczecin. In Wroclaw a decision was made to close one of the post offices. The postal strikes mean a blow to one of the vital links of the state: They involve all communications. The functioning of the state depends on this. Such strikes are doubly lawless—as illegal and also because of various laws which ban strikes in the communications industry. That is why in this sector the actions of the authorities will be very resolute.

I also would like to say that yesterday, during the news conference, I said something in response to a question from a representative of the OPZZ press, and I misunderstood. Namely, I said that directors ought to make all efforts to prevent conflicts by trying to give what should be given to the work forces as soon as possible, and to regulate wages. This applies to directors in general and did not constitute an accusation against the postal directorate. I also thanked the trade unions not for causing a strike at the post ofice, but for their call—which was read out at the conference—to at least deliver urgent telegrams and pay pensions. I am thus making a clarification of what I said.

Now, more generally about the strikes. There are some quite clear pay regulations. If the strikes bring about increased wages, even the ones which are within the capabilities of enterprises, if this issue is forced rather than allowed to occur smoothly in proportion, and if increases occur in production, savings, and so on, then we are faced by a situation in which all the rules of rational management are being broken.

If pay then causes strikes—even if due to these payouts and post-strike agreements the work crew stops its strike—it will then be inclined to strike once again in order to gain another payout following further price rises.

So, quite simply, we cannot continue such policies as paying for strikes and paying due to strikes. I believe, and I would like here to address the managers and tell them about the main theme of the discussion: I say to the managers of enterprises that clear pay programs in enterprises should be drawn up, that it should be explained to everyone that if production should achieve such and such a level, if savings are such and such, if exports rise—well I don't know—all the factors that go to make up production, then salaries will be able to increase by so much for such and such people within such and such a time. These interdependences should be watched: There should be no delays, no waiting, but there should also be no preempted paying out of money earned. This should be a program that is very clear for everyone in the enterprise. It would seem that this is one method for avoiding misunderstandings—two misunderstandings: First, that something can be won by a strike; and second, that the pay rises which are due are not given without pressure.

This is all I wish to say, since it is very worrying that such chaos is creeping into the economy. It causes production losses and brings about a situation in which people, at least in some enterprises, no longer think about the essence of reform, which is how to increase production, achieve progress, savings, efficiency, and, in connection with this, to earn better and think about how to organize themselves, how to manage themselves, how to break off work and earn in this way. We will never get out of the economic crisis this way. At the same time I know that persuasion has no influence here, that the only significant thing would be that of a very clear policy of facts. [end recording]

Walesa Views Economic Situation, Strikes

LD1603193289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] During a news conference on Thursday in Gdansk, Lech Walesa was asked for his assessment of the situation in our country. He said, among other things:

[Begin Walesa recording] From the point of view of expectations and hopes, I would assess the siduation as very good, especially because as people want a great deal, they have hopes. However, from the point of view of satisfying these hopes and expectations, here I would say that we have little chance because, first and foremost, the economic situation is rotten. Second, we are, after all, creating new things, and new things have no reference point. Therefore I am very uncertain as to whether what we are creating will be accepted, whether we shall take advantage of pluralism—economic, social, and union—and other associations, which might in the future create new goods which one could, later and in a better and more organized way, share out. All this is a question of building up.

Until now we—myself included—were set on a struggle with this evil, with this system which has become stuck, and so on. We were certainly not ready for creative work—that is, for exchanging these bad things for programs and people. We had nowhere to do this, for it could not be done underground; the opposition fought and struggled exclusively with systemic faults and with the things, the evil things, that we were coming across. [end recording]

[Announcer] Another question concerned the assessment, from the ethical point of view, of the strike of the Polish post office workers:

[Begin Walesa recording] Of course, ladies and gentlemen, this should be viewed from the ethical side, just as you said, sir. At the same time, however, we should give some thought to why they are doing this. It is because they were being dealt with in an unethical way: They earn too little, and they could not find solutions to many matters; many years of precisely unethical conduct led to such a situation.

This does not mean that I approve; I appealed once again, and I continue to appeal: We cannot go on grabbing the blanket and tugging it toward us—it is too short to cover anything anyway; we should wait—just these few days—organize ourselves and act slightly differently. So I continue to be an opponent of today's strikes, I call for them not to happen, but I cannot cite moral bases since the strikers had not been dealt with morally. Therefore we must remember not just one morality but the other one as well. [end recording]

Comments on Roundtable Talks

LD1603223489 Warsaw PAP in English 2033 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Gdansk, March 16—We cannot look at the new political situation of this country that has been shaped as a result of the round table debate in the old manner and on the basis of the hitherto experiences, Lech Walesa told a press conference in St. Brigida's Church in Gdansk Thursday.

He did not agree with treating the round table discussion in the categories of making concessions. The basic task, he said, is seeking the ways of agreement so that the situation in Poland could improve. When everybody became aware of that, everything started to go on smoothly. After the May strikes I was entering the talks having in fact two issues on my mind: Solidarnosc and trade union pluralism. And this has been settled though it seemed to be very difficult. But there are new issues that surprised both me and society, the issues we did not expect: elections, Senate, office of president and others.

Of course, the round table cannot settle everything. We must open up possibilites for pluralism and after the opening up of a broad road society must organize itself, act and, if need be, correct all that was done wrong by Walesa and others.

Asked about the recent statement by the citizens' committee attached to him, Walesa stressed that the taking on of co-responsibility for the matters of the country is possible on the moment of creating an opportunity of co-participating in the political life. We are discussing and arguing the issue because there is a concept to "judge and clear up all the mistakes" first and then "jointly", or to use the situation and opportunities that emerge while leaving settlements for the future or give them up in the name of supreme national reasons. I am for the latter concept, he added.

In response to questions by PAP journalists, Walesa said that it is groundless to speak about Poles' stagnation. The interests in the round table issues and reforms is immense. At meetings in different towns I saw many people who want to be actively engaged in Polish issues. We have crowds of people willing to work. All they need are proper conditions, he said.

In reply to questions about the starting of activity by Solidarnosc, Walesa pointed out that the union, as a non-political organization, does not plan and has no right to join, for example, the elections to the Sejm. It wants to be organized in a wise way so as to operate properly and enter the road of normal trade union activity. Till now, we were disposed to fight the errors and not to carry our creative work which we are learning now, he stressed.

Roundtable Groups Continue Discussions

TU Pluralism Team Confers

LD1703002489 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 16—The round table team for trade union pluralism held its sixth consecutive meeting here today under the chairmanship of Romuald Sosnowski. The debate focused on draft amendments to the law on trade unions.

At the start of the debate the participants dealt with the recently adopted law on social fund for the countryside which triggered off a controversy in the light of the draft law on trade unions of private farmers, creating conditions for trade union pluralism in rural regions. The latter draft was adopted at the previous meeting.

Next the team looked at proposals of the working group which presented draft amendments to the law on trade unions. Apart from changes discussed at the previous meeting, the team resolved to add a provision which says that acts of registration of trade union organizations taking place prior to the enactment of the amendments remain in force.

Today the team again discussed the question which proved most difficult and time-consuming at the previous meetings, that is the proceedings of the director of an enterprise in the case of trade union organizations failing to agree upon a joint stand on matters vital to the crew. The discussants finally determined that if the trade unions fail to present a joint stand within 30 days, the director or the respective organ of self-management will rule on the case after examining the separate stands of trade union organizations and after consultation with the crew, the way of consultation being determined by the director or the self-management body.

The team discussed the problem of people fired for trade union activity after December 13, 1981. The question being also discussed by other teams, the debaters determined that it should be discussed by co-chairmen of the respective teams and also by a working group which would examine a possible legal regulation in this regard.

The sides agreed upon several solutions in the area of property. They determined for instance that trade union symbols as well as documentation and archives belonging to Solidarnosc, branch and autonomous unions, and rural Solidarnosc would be conveyed to the authorities of the respective organizations. This also applies to printing equipment, means of transport, communications, etc. Directors of work establishments will secure appropriate spaces together with necessary equipment to all organizations operating in a work establishment, in tune with the law on trade unions.

Economy-Social Team Meets

LD1703002389 Warsaw PAP in English 2315 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 16—The "round table" team for economy and social policy had its 7th meeting today. The debates were cochaired by Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski. Tomasz Boczkowski of the government press office told PAP about the course of the meeting.

In the first part of the meeting, the debaters discussed results of sessions of sub-teams. In two cases, the meeting returned to disputable questions that were not solved at the previous meeting. The way of avoiding the threat of a gap in the fuel balance-sheet by developing nuclear power industry was such a problem in the ecological sub-team. Representatives of the coalition-government side reexamined a stand on this question by the opposition-Solidarnosc side. It is possible to examine all postulates and to explain doubts, but only after preparing a multi-variant energy balance-sheet. The team for the economy acknowledged the presented stands and decided that they would be the annexes to an overall elaboration by the team.

The way of solving the fate of people waiting for flats in cooperatives was a question previously unsolved by the sub-team for housing policy.

The debaters presented decisions and differences of opinion that resulted after four debates of the sub-team for education, science and technological progress. The work aimed to further bring the stands nearer should be continued after the "round table" debates.

The debaters presented results of work of the sub-team for agriculture. It ended its meetings in making six decisions, as to which there are no differences of opinion. However, the decisions to base the food economy on market principles aroused controversies during a discussion of the team for the economy. The debaters agreed that a transition to market mechanisms should take place gradually, which will not cause the prices of foodstuffs and agricultural means of production to rise in a steep way.

The next part of the debates was devoted to discussing the edition of the draft of a new social contract and indexation was the main topic. There was a unanimous opinion about the need to introduce indexation mechanisms to a policy of wages.

The Solidarnosc-opposition side adopted a stand that the regular operations of indexation should be carried out a month after a quarter starting from August 1989.

Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski said that the indexation applied in such a way would have the character going far beyond its cushioning functions and it would consolidate the present structure of wages and disproportions.

The finance minister deemed it more justifiable to introduce the lump sum indexation.

The coalition-government side proposed to consult the concept of indexation with a group of representatives of enterprises and the opposition-Solidarnosc side deemed it unnecessary.

In view of different stands on methods on indexation, unsolved to the end, the debaters decided that a joint working group would work together with co-chairmen to agree on the stands of both sides and would submit them for discussion at the next meeting of the team.

Law Reform Subteam Meets

LD1703012589 Warsaw PAP in English 2319 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 16—The "round table" sub-team for the reform of law and courts had its eighth meeting today. Representative of the government press office Zbigniew Augustynowicz told PAP reporters about the course of the debates co-chaired by Lukasz Balcer and Adam Strzembosz.

At the start, the debaters returned to problems of amendments to some regulations of the code of offences. The meeting agreed that verdicts of the misdemeanour courts should be carried out only after they became legally valid. But the question of Article No. 52 of the code of offences envisaging the possibility of confiscating the so-called instruments of committing an offence remained disputable.

The debaters discussed also some regulations of the law on the office of the interior minister and executive acts issued in tune with this law. These acts, in the opinion of the opposition-Solidarnosc side, are incompatible with the human rights covenants, and are abused in practice. The opposition-Solidarnosc side meant particularly a provision on the so-called preventive detentions and the application of the means of direct duress in some cases.

The debaters decided to gather once more tomorrow to finally edit a protocol summing up the work of the sub-team.

Opposition Figures Assess Roundtable Debates

LD1603233489 Warsaw PAP in English 2255 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 16—Representatives of the opposition-Solidarity side, Adam Strzembosz, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Janusz Beksiak and Piotr Nowina-Konopka, met with newsmen here today to present their assessment of today's "round-table" debates.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki spoke of the completion of work on the draft of the so-called minor amendments to the trade union law and stressed that the sides agreed upon proceedings in case when different trade union organizations operating in a factory would not take a common stand in negotiations with management. He stressed that trade unions would have to express their opinion on pay issues, as well as social and housing fund.

Next, he said that the road to the legalization of "Solidarity" opened and expressed the assumption that at the beginning of April—after amending the law—Solidarity would be able to operate legally.

It was agreed that trade unions could be set up in factories in tune with wishes of employess and could freely shape their organizational structure.

Asked whether he would advise Lech Walesa to again appeal for refraining from strikes, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that now one should above all aim at conciliatory settlements of conflicts and that—in his opinion—Walesa's appeal would still be valid after the end of the "round table" debates. We are certainly not satisfied with numerous things but none of us believed that we would solve all economic and living problems of society. That would be naive.

While commenting on the sub-team for the reform of law and courts, Adam Strzembosz stressed that the opposition-Solidarity side was forced to withdraw its earlier postulates concerning the so-called immediate amendments to the penal code.

OPZZ Holds News Conference on Roundtable

LD1703001189 Warsaw PAP in English 2137 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 16—Trade union questions prevailed at a press conference at the headquarters of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ). Co-chairman of the "round table" team for trade union pluralism Romuald Sosnowski told journalists about the course of debates.

He deemed the reaching of full consensus on trade union organizations of private farmers and the preparation of a list of concrete questions that require the adoption of a joint stand of trade unions and cannot be settled without this stand by the management or the working crew's self-management to be the most important of the settled questions.

It was possible to reach a joint stand also on questions concerning trade union property, although it was repeatedly difficult to find an addressee of demands on this question as the OPZZ trade unions did not exist when the property of previous trade unions was taken over. Thus, it will be necessary to at first define the present owner of the equipment and its condition. The OPZZ declared its readiness to transfer the symbols of Solidarnosc, that is, banners and boards. It will be the duty of managements of factories to ensure office rooms to trade union organizations, while the government will ask organs of administration to create conditions of operation for supra-factory structures.

The two problems remained to be solved before the last meeting of the team for trade union pluralism. The first question is to find a legal formula to settle questions of those people who were sacked as a result of trade union or strike activity at the start of the 1980s. The second question is linked to specifying a provision concerning the future amendment of regulations on collective disputes and the right to strike.

Orzechowski Interviewed on Negotiations

AU1603191689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Mar 89 p 2

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by Miklos Ritecz in Budapest: "The 'Roundtable' Is Poland's Great Chance"; date not given]

[Text] Marian Orzechowski held talks in Budapest in recent days. Taking advantage of his visit, our correspondent asked him about the situation in Poland.

[Ritecz] THe roundtable negotiations—are you optimistic?

[Orzechowski] I would like to be optimistic, but I am realistic. I want to be optimistic because the roundtable negotiations are a great opportunity for us to create the conditions necessary for social calm. I think that the participants in these negotiations also ask themselves: What will happen to the country if no consensus and no compromise emerge? We can accelerate agreement and strengthen the desire for agreement if we look back over the events between 1980 and 1981, and at the way these events ended.

I am also realistic because I know that now, when we have sat down at the same table after 40 years—in the midst of the distrust and even animosity that have accumulated in the course of these years—it is difficult to create the basis for confidence. Our major goal today is to solve our economic problems, namely to halt inflation and improve living conditions. For this we need a partnerlike responsibility in implementing the economic reform program. This is the key problem, and it is here that our greatest difficulties lie. It is easier to reach a compromise in politics because both sides know where the limit is which they cannot surpass.

[Ritecz] Solidarity—could the extremist forces come to the fore?

[Orzechowski] This concern is justified. Many Solidarity activists behave as if 1980 and 1981 never happened. At the same time, we have to take risks, because neither a rational policy nor the future can be built on worries. In other words, we have to accept what Walesa says, namely, we have to show confidence. At the same time, we should provide institutional guarantees for the general consensus that has been created, guarantees that should be observed by everyone. Thus, we can avoid a repetition of events that took place at the beginning of this decade. One of the elements of this guarantee is that Solidarity should remain a trade union. Another element is the political pluralism which appears today in the form of various clubs and associations. The third element is that the opposition should also have representatives in the Sejm. I think that this is also a guarantee that realistic forces—Walesa and the church—will be aware that the events of 1980-1981 should not recur. In addition, the state has means to defend itself in dramatic situations.

[Ritecz] The role of the Army—Wojciech Jaruzelski declared recently that the state powers would even be ready to deploy the Army in order to avoid another chaotic situation.

[Orzechowski] That is true. No one could allow anarchy and the destruction of the legal foundations of the regime. This would also lead to Poland's destabilization. The opposition extremists who also attack Walesa will probably try to avoid a general consensus. However, they do not have a mass basis. The general indignation that followed the recent irresponsible student disturbances proves this. If there were no desire for a general consensus in Poland, actions directed against society and the law would not arouse such general indignation.

[Ritecz] The role of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]—what does it mean to give up the monopoly on power?

[Orzechowski] First of all, our party will refrain from considering itself as the sole organization possessing the truth. Of course, this does not mean that the PZPR is a force without initiative on important issues for society. Second, our party will give up its current cadre policy, that is, a "good expert" will take the place of a "good party member." Third, we do not have to be in a majority everywhere and we do not have to prove ourselves with a mechanical majority vote everywhere. In the final analysis, our party's power position should not depend on a constitutional article.

Commentator on 'Significant Progress' at Talks

AU1603155089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[Commentary by Jerzy Majka, editor in chief of TRYBUNA LUDU: "Prospects Have Increased Enormously"]

[Text] The 5th week of the "roundtable" has, in my opinion, produced significant progress. It has increased hopes that the necessary agreements and compromises will be reached. The results of the work of the political reform team, in particular, provide grounds for this assessment.

This view is borne out by the assessments made by the cochairmen of the team, Professors Geremek and Janusz Reykowski, on Thursday [9 March] evening. Other participants in the meeting spoke in a similar vein before the television cameras. Agreement has been reached on the main outlines of changes to the state's political system and on the principles for the upcoming parliamentary elections.

However, the beginning of the week was marked by some friction. The reports on the meeting of the youth affairs subteam by the subteam's cochairmen and other session participants indicated something of a chill. A scout in uniform argued the superiority of the Republic scout (Republican Scout Union) over the Polish scout (Polish Scout Union), and expressed indignation that it was not possible to split children up into an opposition-Solidarity group and a coalition-government group. An independent student (Independent Association of University Students), completely convinced of his superiority over the Polish student (Association of Polish Students), expressed profound indignation that the authorities had not treated warnings with appropriate seriousness and had not asked the students of the Jagiellonian University to be allowed to satisfy their wishes.

However, to be serious, the statement made during the meeting that students of the Jagiellonian University would only demonstrate on campus until the end of the "roundtable" and renouncing brawling in the streets, described as demonstrating, simply sounded ridiculous. After all, what we are discussing at the "roundtable" is how to arrange things in Poland after it, not during the course of it. A new democratic order in Poland can only be created in a responsible and serious manner.

There was also friction during the meeting of the team for the economy and social policy held last week. However, in this case the subject matter is more complex, the differences between economic experts on the coalition-government side and the opposition-Solidarity side are significant, and each of the proposed solutions contains an elements of risk, so the process of arriving at a consensus that would make it possible to outline a social contract is more difficult. This is a reflection of the undoubted fact that the key to improving the situation in Poland lies in the economy, and it presents a very complicated picture.

This shift toward a conciliatory and substantive approach in the search for a compromise is something I attribute to Tuesday's [9 March] meeting between Lech Walesa and Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak. The meeting was also attended by a number of people who are playing an important role in the talks (cochairmen) and represent a variety of currents in Polish society. From Wednesday onward, a change of tone and atmosphere became markedly palpable in the daily television reports on the course and results of the various meetings.

Apart from the fact that the decisions being made by the political reform team have now reached a very advanced stage, I would also draw attention to the great progress made by the team for trade union pluralism. The cochairmen of the subteams for ecology, agriculture, and housing policy have stated that consensus has either been reached or almost reached. In the case of the last subteam, it was stressed that the agreement is of a tripartite nature, involving the coalition-government side, the class-based trade unions, and the opposition-Solidarity side.

This picture is not altered by the fact that there continue to be significant differences in the subteams for science, education, and technical progress; health; legal and judicial reform; and the mass media, although positions have converged and agreement has been reached on many issues. Some of the subteam cochairmen placed particular emphasis on the differences that remain.

I would not [illegible] the importance of these differences of opinion. [illegible] have reached the closing stages of the discussion. This inevitably means considering matters in detail, and it is quite natural that various differences of opinion should arise.

This does not change the conclusion expressed in the title of this article, that is, that prospects for achieving the results that the "roundtable" is intended to produce have increased enormously. According to the decisions made at Magdalenka, the teams and subteams have another week to complete their work. Then, before the plenary session of the "roundtable," the framework of a new social contract will have to be created from the protocols of these decisions and differences.

It seems to me that the negotiators from all sides involved in the "roundtable" will face their most difficult task at this point. Many of the decisions that have already been reached and the demands put forward by the opposition-Solidarity side that are still being considered have a concrete, substantive dimension.

Thus, according to the mutually incompatible or at any rate economically unrealistic demands being made by workers and all employees in the socialized economy, the cost of living would have to be balanced out, and this would be ensured by a 100-percent or almost 100-percent indexation of wages. Farmers would have to be able to sell agricultural produce and livestock at prices that would ensure that agricultural production is profitable and that producers earn an appropriate income. Additional funds would have to become available for education and science, health care, and environmental protection. For miners to work like normal people, coal extraction levels would have to be reduced and—for other reasons as well—the construction of nuclear power stations would have to cease, while the use of wood as a source of energy would have to be limited by rigorous environmental protection regulations envisaged by the environmental protection team. In addition, there should be a twofold increase in the number of apartments that become available for occupancy every year, which will also increase demand for lighting and—what is worse—heating. This will be fine if we get used to living in the dark and to occasional low temperatures.

However, I call myself to order at this point, because these are not jokes. Every one of these issues has a rational aspect. If it were possible to achieve these things quickly—to start doing so almost today—then we would satisfy many of society's expectations. I would have nothing against this. However, I fear—and my reasons are based on mathematical calculations—that this is unrealistic.

The opposition is seeking to create for itself the image of a restorer of health. For the second time in the history of Poland, it is acting under the slogan of purification [sanacja]: a purification of the system, the economy, and morality. This is the right of every opposition, and it neither surprises nor annoys me. One has to get used to this kind of situation.

However, I think that the truth cannot be concealed in TRYBUNA LUDU. I have experienced the rapture of arbitrariness on two occasions in my life. There were promises of happiness on both occasions.

The first time this happened was at the beginning of the 1970's, when we started to take out loans right, left, and center. The shops were stocked with hundreds of new Polish and imported goods that were reasonably priced, the prices being lower than those that had been charged in the shops that resold goods on a commission basis. This was the beginning of paradise. However, no more than 3 or 4 years later "holes" began to appear in the market. The lines outside shops selling meat grew longer and longer.

Then there was the second wave of arbitrariness—the so-called Walesa one. We were to live just as well, perhaps even better. Money for which there was no backing was paid out in 1980 and 1981. Employers were forced to grant wage raises for which there was no backing. The shelves in the shops became emptier and emptier, there was more and more democracy, and more and more demagogy, and then there were the hunger marches, in which those who were wealthiest took part.

I would like to return to neither the first nor the second wave of arbitrariness and happiness. However, even less would I like to help create a policy of illusions, let alone have party members succumb to illusions.

Illusions quickly reveal their true nature. Confidence in the people who create them quickly evaporates. The reaching of agreement at the "roundtable" creates certain new opportunities for putting an end to various mistakes of ours. However, many of the issues that are the subject of heated debate require time and great effort, and—I do not conceal this fact—sacrifices on the part of various social groups. The moral strength of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] in these controversial matters stems from the fact that we are not afraid to speak about these matters openly.

There is something else that I have misgivings about and would not like to conceal. There is a desire to split Poland "in two" behind various concrete proposals being made by the opposition-Solidarity side. This was indicated by one of our readers and by the editor Anna Pawlowska. The government and Walesa's Citizens Committee, the class-based trade unions and Solidarity, the National Union of Farmers, farming circles, and farming organizations and Individual Farmers Solidarity, the Polish University Student Association and the Independent Association of University Students, the Polish Scout Union and the Republican Scout Union, our schools and yours.... one could go on, but I think that this is enough. Two Polands?—to quote Anna Pawlowska.

The question I ask myself is: What is the point of this? Is it a question of pluralism in the deepest humanist sense, a pluralism that permits every person to have an identity of his own and preserve his dignity, or is it simply a question of organizing one's forces for a general conflict in order to replace one monopoly (which is, incidentally, more imagined than real) with another one, and a real one at that?

If my line of reasoning is correct (and I would prefer it to be wrong), the purpose of all these demands and requests, which have their basis but whose immediate satisfaction is unrealistic, is to show that this first Poland, the one that is attributed to the coalition-government side, is very second-rate. However, nothing is said about what the second Poland would be like, the one that would be governed by the opposition-Solidarity side. That is a pity! I would like our partners to find themselves in a situation in which they would have to account for their own demands before society. At this point, I have to remind myself to show restraint. This is because we are dealing with important matters.

The opposition—at any rate, opposition intellectual circles—were right to have called for years for the extension of pluralism to the political sphere, a sphere that was reserved for those in power. Beginning with the sixth Central Committee plenum in 1987, our party began to view these arguments seriously and to understand them, which called for a revision of the party's earlier positions. This revision was carried out at later plenums and at the 10th plenum in particular. We do not consider this to be a retreat, but a way of enriching our theory and our arguments with experience that is not necessarily socialist in origin.

However, there is rather more to this concrete aspect of our dispute with the opposition. Forty-five years after a people's revolution took place in Poland, a revolution that opted for socialism and was then negatively affected by international factors (this not only relates to Stalinism, but also to the cold war that was imposed by the West), we want—and alongside the church, we are probably the only force capable of achieving this—to end the conflict dividing Poles, both in Poland and abroad. We consider this the most important national cause. This was why we extended an invitation to a "roundtable." We did so for the sake of one Poland, not two.

After 5 weeks of roundtable talks, the course of events shows that the far-sighted resolutions adopted at the 10th plenum were correct. The plenum will rank among congresses in the history of our party. Our strength, our cast-iron argument at the "roundtable" is the vision of a modern socialism and the courage to open up to pluralism set out in the resolution adopted at that plenum.

Our arguments generally triumph in the agreements being reached, but, at the same time, adjustments are often made to them in light of sound views expressed by the opposition. The "roundtable" shows that by comparing the views of various sides, Polish political thought can become richer and better serve the people and their state.

That is actually all that I would like to say after the fifth week of the "roundtable." However, there is a certain debt from last Monday that I have to settle. Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Mr Janusz Onyszkiewicz found my article disturbing, and they said so on "government" television and at an "opposition" news conference. I admit that I expected an attack of this kind, but from a Western radio station rather than from prominent representatives of the Polish opposition.

We published their views in full and without any changes in TRYBUNA LUDU on Tuesday (this was also part of the chill that I referred to). As I would like to say something about these views, I think that it would be right to repeat what was said once again.

Speaking on television as a cochairman of the team for trade union pluralism, Mr Mazowiecki said: "We are also concerned about views of the kind expressed in the lead article by Jerzy Majka in today's TRYBUNA LUDU, in which he talks about the opposition's barren negation. I think that after 4 weeks of the 'roundtable' to write about 'barren negation' on the part of the opposition is nothing but an expression of pig-headedness. This is unjust and does not help the atmosphere of the 'roundtable' in any way. I also reject the attacks on Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Zofia Kuratowska contained in the article as demagogy."

Tomasz Szymanski, TRYBUNA LUDU's reporter at Janusz Onyszkieiwicz's news conference, wrote: "The conference began with a statement addressed to TRYBUNA LUDU and its chief editor, Jerzy Majka. The article 'Thoughts on the Roundtable' that appeared in Monday's edition of the paper was described by the spokesman as 'tending to cause the sides represented at the roundtable to drift apart.' According to J. Onyszkiewicz, concrete accusations will be expressed in writing."

It is late on Sunday evening and I have not as yet received any specific accusations. The reader can judge this for himself. I would like to comment on the accusations that were made in public.

I actually did say: "I have no complaints to make about the opposition in maintaining a position of barren negation. This simply confirms my earlier view that the opposition does not possess an alternative program to that of the governing coalition."

I admit that the thought expressed in the first sentence could have been put in more precise terms. It would have been better to have said: My main charge is not that the opposition's position is one of barren negation, but that it has nothing positive to say. I would then have expressed what I wanted to say more forcefully, that the opposition has no program for Poland. Today, having thought about this rather more, I would add: It has a program for itself. It is a program geared toward acquiring power and replacing one monopoly with another. It is a program on how to divide that avoids the fundamental issue, how to create. A program of this kind has, as the Germans say, short legs.

Mr Mazowiecki was offended by my attack on Mr Onyszkiewicz. Let me recall what I wrote last week: "Last week Mr Onyszkiewicz, speaking with an arrogance that recalls a certain 16 months (which Mr Pietrzyk praised during a meeting of the roundtable mining subteam), did not bother to list a series of opposition demands that the other side had rejected for unknown reasons. Therefore, I feel entitled to make this accusation. As far as demagogy is concerned, there is no better example than Mr Onyszkiewicz's attack on the act passed by the Sejm and his demand to set up a super commission to control the work of constitutional state bodies. We have not even reached agreement about the elections and the opposition would like to rule already."

Perhaps Mr Onyszkiewicz really was guided by feelings other than arrogance when he expressed his views or those of the opposition. However, that is his business and his problem. Nevertheless, he presented the stance of the opposition as if it were an ultimatum. After the Krakow events, his statement expressing concern over the lack of a decision on the Independent Association of University Students seemed at odds with the feelings of society. We have printed only a few of the hundreds of letter and telephone calls we have received on this subject, and therefore I had a right to say that Mr Onyszkiewicz, with his self-confident manner, seems to display arrogance toward views that are different from his own. Arrogance in the sense that he does not recognize other people's interests. To put it ironically, he does not stoop so low as to discuss these other interests seriously.

Neither do I see any reason to take back anything I said about Dr Zofia Kuratowska, and what I said was: "What does Mr Onyszkiewicz think of Dr Kuratowska's arrogance toward him? This reminds me of the period of 'canary breeders' and the arrogance of the gentlemen connected with those times."

Mrs Kuratowska behaved in an arrogant manner toward the joint chairman of the subteam for health representing the class-based trade unions. She did not find it disturbing that the three sides were clearly represented at the previous two meetings of this team. Therefore, what she wanted to do was to aggravate the situation and offend the trade union representatives affiliated to the National Trade Union Confederation. What is more, after Mrs Kuratowska's speech last Monday [6 March], which I interpreted as a reaction to my article, I feel that she still does not understand the sense and profundity of the historic compromise occurring in Poland.

It is confusing to treat some trade unions as progovernment and others as antigovernment. Transferring problems concerning practical labor relations to the sphere of politics indicates either a lack of understanding of what is happening or primitive manipulation. This applies to assessments of both the class-based trade unions and of so-called Solidarity, which is meant to enter the labor scene. I fear that the essay in TRYBUNA LUDU about the danger of judges and other professional people holding political views is not so amusing in light of Mrs Kuratowska's outburst. I would have you know, Mrs Kuratowska, that the whole of the "roundtable" shows that many different sides are taking part in it. I do not think you could have overlooked this. This is cause for joy and concern, for you and for me, or so I think.

Messrs Mazowiecki and Onyszkiwiecz accuse me of damaging accord. If accord is supposed to be damaged by truth, then we are ready to accept the blame. An accord that rejects the truth leads nowhere. If I wanted to convince my opponents that I do want accord, I would have to reprint the entire article.

And a final thought: In my view the "roundtable" is taking place at three different forums. The first one is the most important—the Palace of the Council of Ministers, together with various other premises where working meetings of bodies below the rank of subteam are being held. It is the most important forum, the essence of the "roundtable," and it is here that compromise is being reached. It is here that in the words of the participants the most businesslike and most heated talks are taking place; it is here that a struggle for compromise is being waged with the good intentions on many sides. Le us admit that nobody likes compromise, especially not in Poland. We have always valued our own interests more than other people's. That is how the second forum of the "roundtable," television, appeared. At this second forum, society is being addressed, but most of all people in our own ranks are being convinced that they have not been betrayed by us, that we are still clinging to our positions. Mr Mazowiecki, both of us belong to this forum, that is the nature of our profession, irrespective of what other functions in political life we may have.

There is a third forum. However, this is a dishonest one. It is dominated by foreign Polish-language radio stations that are close to the hearts of the opposition and by some Polish publications and journalists who do not necessarily think like Poles. There is only one possible choice at this third forum, only that which comes from the opposition is good, whoever does not understand this deserves contempt and abuse.

At this forum there is no coalition-government or opposition-Solidarity side. There is only a government side and a social side. All of society is firmly against socialism and worships the opposition. This third forum is a forum of manipulation and lies. It is a non-Polish forum that nevertheless features some Polish actors who dance to foreign tunes.

After 5 weeks of the "roundtable," I am optimistic. I see more and more politicians of various shades who have been trying their hand at solving Polish issues in Warsaw. That is good. That fills one with optimism.

Rakowski, Others Attend Sejm Debate

LD1703001589 Warsaw PAP in English 2313 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 16—Sejm floor groups today debated on problems of changes in the system of exercising power in the state negotiated at the "round table."

A meeting of the PUWP Sejm floor gorup started discussing polemically key questions concerning the character and pace of the proposed changes. Deputies adopted different stands, particularly on the setting up of the Senate. Referring to the referendum held more than 40 years ago in which society came out against re-activating the Senate, some deputies asked whether one should not also now refer to the verdict of public opinion. On the other hand, there were counter-arguments that today the second house of parliament would be set up under completely different socio-systemic conditions.

In most of their statements, Sejm deputies deemed it purposeful to strive to enable the future supreme state authorities, shaped on the basis of result of the "round table" and decisions of the Sejm, to start work as swiftly as possible. Sejm deputies said that the position of the president of the state would foster the country's stability.

Sejm deputies said that the presence of the opposition in the future parliament would be socially useful. They stressed at the same time that today the thing is what the future image of socialism in Poland would look like.

Deputies discussed also drafts linked to associations and trade union pluralism.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski took part in discussion at the meeting chaired by Tadeusz Porebski.

A meeting of the deputy floor group of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) said that society did not adopt an unequivocal stand on the concept of the Senate. The deputies' doubts concern not so much the very proposal of setting up the Senate but the form of re-activating it. In this connection, they suggested that if 40 years ago the Senate had been abolished under the referendum, perhaps one should consult society's opinion on re-activating the second chamber of parliament in the same way. Other deputies argued that there was no such duty in the legal terms.

Some deputies are surprised by, as they put it, the early dates of the elections and thus of the work on new regulations to elect the Sejm and particularly the Senate. Sejm deputies also criticized the statement by the government press spokesman in which he gave the expected date of the elections and the possibilities of the Council of State dissolving itself before the Sejm made a decision on these questions. The deputies said that the ZSL intended to specify its electoral programme by mid-April.

A discussion of members of the deputy floor group of the Democratic Party (SD) was long and stormy sometimes, considering changes proposed in draft laws, particularly amendments to the Constitution, unusually significant, many deputies expressed a view that all citizens should express their opinion on these questions in the form of a referendum.

Sejm Presidium Outlines 22-23 March Agenda

LD1603231489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] The Sejm Presidium has decided to hold the 45th parliamentary session on 22 and 23 March. The agenda includes:

the first reading of the draft law on changes in the Polish Constitution, put forward by the Council of State;

the first reading of draft laws—put forward by the Council of State—concerning the electoral law to the Sejm and the Senate electoral law;

the first reading of government drafts on the law on associations, on changes in the law regarding trade unions, and on the trade unions of individual farmers;

the setting up of extraordinary commissions to examine the draft law on changes to the Polish Constitution, the draft electoral law to the Sejm, and that of the Semate, and to examine the draft law on associations and the draft law concerning trade unions.

It is planned to have a first reading of the government draft law on the geodesic and cartographic laws, to have reports from Sejm commissions regarding the deputies' draft law on trades, reports on problems issuing from the activities of the Constitutional Tribunal, and deputies' written and oral questions.

Sejm Speaker Malinowski Visits Italy

LD1503040889 Warsaw PAP in English 0014 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Rome, March 14—The current visit by Poland's Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski to Italy precedes the announced visit of Italy's President Francesco Cossiga to Poland.

The Sejm speaker arrived here today to stay several days during which he is to hold numerous talks at the highest level: parliamentary—with the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Nilde Jotti and of the Senate Giovanni Spadolini as well as chairmen and members of some parliamentary committees. At the state level—with President of the Republic Francesco Cossiga, Premier Ciriaco de Mita, Minister of Foreign Affairs Giulio Andreotti. The Sejm speaker will be received by Pope John Paul 2 this Thursday.

After being greeted at the airport by Vice President of the Chamber of Deputies Gerardo Bianco, Malinowski announced the following before numerous Polish and Italian newsmen:

"I have arrived at the invitation of Ms. Nilde Jotti. Her recent visit to Poland and the visit of President of the Senate Giovanni Spadolini gave both our parliaments impetus for cooperation. This is therefore a return visit in a certain sense but I wish to stress that it is at the same time the first visit of a Sejm speaker in the history of Polish-Italian relations."

Malinowski today paid a visit to Nilde Jotti whom he thanked once again for her contribution to the Warsaw conference of chairmen of parliaments. One of the main topics of the talk was the issue of accelerating the implementation of the conclusions stemming from the conference. Jotti is a member of the initiating group of representatives of seven parliaments which is to decide the way in which these suggestions will be put into effect.

Issues of expanding parliamentary contacts between Poland and Italy were the second leading topic of the talks, with special stress on direct cooperation between parliamentary committees as stimuli for the development of Polish-Italian relations in all other fields. Both sides attach special importance to the establishment of direct exchange of parliamentarians and cooperation between the foreign and constitutional affairs committees.

Ms. Jotti gave expressions of great sympathy for the "round table" meeting in Poland, wishing success in all reformative solutions, institutional inclusive.

She stressed that the positive processes taking place in Poland also have their significant international dimension. She accepted an invitation to pay another official visit to Poland after the Polish parliamentary elections, presumably early next fall.

Malinowski also held cordial talks with Flaminio Piccoli, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the chamber and chairman of the Christian Democratic International who also recently visited Poland, and with members of the committee, including representatives of the opposition.

They stressed that the arrival of the Sejm speaker to Rome and the detailed information supplied by him on the spot regarding Polish transformations came at a time when favourable public interest in them was on the rise in Italy. Piccoli stressed that draft new legislature regulations in Poland could be interesting for other parliaments, not excluding the Italian one. We perceive the current Polish affairs as also ours. We understand that what is taking place in Poland is a historic turn not only for her but for all of Europe, he said.

Talks With President, Premier

LD1603103189 Warsaw PAP in English 2359 GMT 15 Mar 89

[By PAP correspondent Bozydar Sosien]

[Text] Rome, March 15—On the second day of his visit in Rome, Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski held talks with Italian President Francesco Cossiga and Premier Ciriaco De Mita.

The speaker also paid a visit to President of the Senate Giovanni Spadolini. He also met with the leadership and members of the Agricultural Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, the Federation of Farmers and Breeders and the Christian-Democrat Union of Farmers.

The key goal of these meetings was to discuss possibilities of further developing Polish-Italian cooperation in all fields, harnessing broader inter- parliamentary contacts to this end. Malinowski's Italian interlocutors displayed keen and kindly interest in the transformations taking place in Poland, treating them as an important impetus for strengthening Poland's position on the international arena and as an important element conducive to both bilateral and all-European cooperation. They did not conceal the fact that they viewed the further progress in the stabilization of Poland's internal situation as one of the conditions of increased confidence and willingness to enhance cooperation with Poland.

Characterizing the very cordial discussion with President Cossiga, Malinowski told PAP correspondent in Rome: I relayed the best wishes and greetings to the president from the President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski who has warm recollections of his visit to Italy in 1987. We will soon have the opportunity to play host to the Italian president in our country which undoubtedly will give additional momentum to Polish-Italian cooperation in various field, economic inclusive.

Judging from the talks with President Cossiga as well as other Italian politicians, there are significant possibilities to expand cooperation and in various forms at that, Malinowski continued.

I had the impression that the president not only highly assessed what is currently taking place in Poland thanks to reforms and the perestroyka in the Soviet Union and changes in other socialist countries as an element conducive to expanding bilateral relations, but also makes many personal efforts for these transformations to be treated as a factor conducive to all-European cooperation.

In a discussion with Premier de Mita we focused on those Polish changes which facilitate economic cooperation and trade and co-production between Polish and Italian companies. We particularly pondered the possibilities of Italian capital engaging itself in the pro-exports modernization and restructuring of our industry, Malinowski said.

In the name of Premier Rakowski I invited Premier de Mita to pay an official visit to Poland. He accepted it with satisfaction, the Sejm speaker revealed.

The talks with the head of the Italian Government also concerned certain aspects of normalizing cooperation in the financial-credit field, including the need for positive solutions in Poland's favour within the Paris Club (foreign debt rescheduling and the problem of interest) as well as the IMF and the World Bank with a view to enabling Poland to implement specific programs of economic development.

The meeting between Malinowski and Giovanni Spadolini was also cordial. The latter expressed respect for the project to re-establish the Senate in Poland. Moreover he spoke in favour of continuing meetings between the chairmen of parliaments of Europe, the U.S. and Canada, expressing an opinion that they should review at least three problems: creating a uniform law on combating international terrorism, and on activities for free flow of information and people.

Holds Talks With Pope

LD1703030189 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 16 Mar 89

[By PAP correspondent Bozydar Sosien]

[Text] Rome, March 16—On the third day of Polish Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski's visit to Rome he was received by Pope John Paul II at a private audience. The audience took place at a very important point of the development of situation in Poland which Malinowski described in detail to the pope, speaking of hopes and threats resulting from it. He emphasized that national agreement was the only alternative and in that process the church might and should play a very important role. By way of example, the fact that the conference of Polish episcopate adopted in secret voting the draft of a new law adgusting the relations between the state and the church induces optimism.

The pope, who displays continuing attention and concern as regards problems of his motherland, listened to the opinions presented by the Sejm speaker with much interest, underlining, among other things, that the changes under way in Poland should also affect people's mentality and attitudes.

Having welcomed the guests, the pope held a face-to-face conversation with Malinowski in his private library. The talk lasted for about half an hour. Next, the speaker extended thanks to the pope for the reception and his permanent interest in Polish affairs and presented John Paul II with a silver plateau depicting the building of the Polsh Sejm, and with the parliament's occasional medal with a Latin inscription saying "Populi et rei publicae bonum ultima lex" (The weal of the people and the republic is the ultimate law). The pope, in turn, handed to the visitor the pontificate's occasional medal.

Having left the apostolic palace, Roman Malinowski made a statement for Polish newsmen in which he said:

"I expressed the view that the internal stability in our country and the entire process of passing from one quality to another required also the normalization of external conditionalities. I had in mind the need for understanding of Polish issues on the part of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Paris Club as well as the need for a full normalization of financial, credit and economic cooperation with other countries."

The pope referred to Poland's affairs with great concern and cordiality. He also expressed hope that in the near future significant steps would be made to sign a convention, that is, to establish full diplomatic relations between Poland and the Vatican. This will co-create—apart from other conditions—qualitative changes both in Poland and outside.

Also today, Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski met with the papal nuncio for special assignments, head of the team for permanent working contacts between the Apostolic See and the Polish Government Archbishop Francesco Colasuono and his collaborators, at the seat of the Polish mission at the Vatican here.

Roman Malinowski invited Archbishop Colasuono to pay a visit to the Sejm. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

The archbishop displayed interest mainly in Poland's current economic situation, the Polish indebtedness and international contacts of the Polish Sejm.

Also today, Roman Malinowski continued talks at the Italian parliament. He met with members of the Italian Interparliamentary Union group and invited its representatives to pay a visit to Poland after the elections to the Sejm (Polish parliament) in Poland. The two sides came out in favour of broadening mutual cooperation in this international forum.

The talk with head of the cabinet of the political secretary of the Christian Democrat Party, Deputy Gianfranco Malfati, focused on international issues, with particular regard to the introduction into life of the recent decisions of the Vienna conference.

Present at the talks was Poland's Ambassador to Italy Jozef Wiejacz who in the evening gave a reception attended by representatives of the Italian Parliament with chairwoman of the Chamber of Deputies Nilde Jotti, leading representatives of political parties including representative of the Italian Communist Party Giancarlo Pajetta, Italian Foreign Ministry officials, diplomats, newsmen with director of "CORRIERE DELLA SERA" Ugo Stile. [sentence as received]

Law on Foreign Currency Effective 15 Mar

LD1403235189 Warsaw PAP in English 1944 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—The law on foreign currencies passed by the Sejm February 15 takes effect March 15 which means the end of a legal fiction which was the ban on buying and selling foreign currencies by Polish citizens.

The principle of ownership of currencies and freedom to buy and sell them applies to people and enterprises. The latter have the right not only to obtain foreign currencies from exports of goods and services but also to freely buy them at auctions or from other enterprises.

People will be allowed to sell and buy foreign currencies in exchange offices licensed by the National Bank of Poland.

Unusually important changes are brought about by the law on foreign currencies to disability and old age pensioners receiving their pensions from foreign insurance companies. The pensions have been paid out in zlotys (Polish money) at the official exchange rate. The new law introduces the duty to sell to the bank 60 per cent of the pension and he can keep the remaining 40 per cent in foreign currency.

The new law sets up the key elements of the internal currency market. This is also a legislative move towards the internal convertibility of the Polish zloty and, in future, towards external convertability. The law intends to strengthen the zloty as the sole payment means in Poland.

Legal Demonstration Held Against Nuclear Plant

LD1603214989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] A legal demonstration has been held in Poznan against the construction of a nuclear power station in Klempicz. It was organized by the Polish Ecological Club and the Wielkopolska Citizens Action. The protest was against the threat to health, the unjustified destruction of the Notec forest, and the waste of money on the construction of a power station in Klempicz. The demonstration began at 1500, and protestors marched through the streets of the Poznan center.

AIDS Data Released; Warsaw Clinic To Open

LD1603143389 Warsaw PAP in English 1000 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 16—There are already 135 AIDS virus carriers in Poland, according to the latest data of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

Aside many other problems, the disease has also created the problem of hospitalization and first-aid for AIDS sufferers. Warsaw's viovodship physician Edward Wojtarowicz told newsmen yesterday that work at the first outpatient's clinic for AIDS sufferers should be wound up by the end of June this year.

The clinic will house venereological and gynecological consulting rooms, stomatological surgery as well as consulting rooms of physicians of other specialities. Employees of the clinic will also keep the register of those suffering from AIDS and the virus carriers.

Open Letter to Ceausescu Criticizes Government

BBC Cited on Letter

AU1603140689

[Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 14 March on pages 1 and 2 carries a 700-word interview with BBC political commentator Gyorgy Fodor by correspondent Pal Bokor, under the headline: "London Commentary on the Letter of the 'Six Romanians'—Not an Isolated Action."

As "the open letter was first broadcast by the BBC," Pal Bokor asks Gyorgy Fodor for details. Asked about the authenticity of this letter, Fodor is quoted as saying that "one of the signatories, namely Silviu Brucan, personally confirmed its authenticity in a telephone conversation."

The interview then focuses on the six former leading figures who signed the open letter and provides short biographical details about them. As for speculation about the identity of the person who formulated this letter, Fodor is quoted as saying that "this outstandingly edited and written text is the work of Silviu Brucan, the former chief editor of the party daily SCINTEIA" who is a former Romanian ambassador in the United States and "was the first to publicly oppose the Ceausescu leadership. Fodor expresses his conviction that "this letter is the beginning of something, and definitely not an isolated action but an important and considerable declaration probably supported by party officials in office and even by security organs and active leaders of the army."

Signatories Arrested

PM1703105489 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Mar 89 p 36

[Unattributed report: "Several Signatories of Open Letter to Mr Ceausescu Apparently Arrested"]

[Excerpt] The six former Romanian leadership members who sent an open letter to Nicolae Ceausescu last week condemning his policy have been placed under close police surveillance or have been arrested. For instance, there has been no news since 9 March of Alexandru Birladeanu, former economy minister and head of the Central Committee Economic Department. That day, his son, who lives in France, telephoned him in Bucharest, as he usually did every 3 or 4 days without any problems. Somebody describing himself as a "neighbor" told him that his father had gone out for a walk and would be back in 90 minutes. However, Mr Birladeanu, who is 78 and frail, was not in the habit of going out in that way. Since that "conversation," there has been no reply to telephone calls. The same is true of the other signatories' telephones.

On Tuesday, the Romanian authorities announced the arrest of Mircea Raceanu, head of the Americas department at the Bucharest Foreign Ministry and son of Ion Raceanu, an RCP veteran, who had signed the letter. It was through him that the letter reached the West. Mircea Raceanu is accused of espionage for a foreign power. Silviu Brucan, former UN ambassador and former chief editor of party organ SCINTEIA, was arrested by the Securitate after personally handing in the letter to Mr Ceausescu's office. [passage omitted]

EEC To Suspend Trade Talks With Romania

AU1603143689 Paris AFP in English 1430 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Strasbourg, France, March 16 (AFP)—The European Economic Community must call off trade talks with Romania because of its human rights abuses, European Commissioner for External Affairs Frans Andriessen said Thursday.

Earlier Thursday, the European Parliament here voted a resolution condemning rights violations by President Nicolae Ceausescu's regime, referring to the forced assimilation and resettlement of Romania's ethnic (?Hungarians).

Markovic Submits Government Program to Assembly

LD1603130989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1105 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia cannot overcome its crisis and secure development without increasing economic efficiency and strengthening political democracy, Yugoslav Premier-designate Ante Markovic said here today.

Markovic, 65, submitted his government's program to the federal parliament. Yesterday, Markovic presented a list of 19 members of his cabinet. It has 10 members less than former Premier Branko Mikulic's cabinet which resigned late last December.

Solutions must be sought in the reforms of society and the system, in opting for an integral market and the autonomy of the economy, and in opening to the world, Markovic said.

The basic guideline of Markovic's economic policy will be the market value of all production factors. The exchange rate of the dinar and the interest policy will be coordinated with market criteria, Markovic said.

Only in conditions of real market values is it possible to discern profitability, work from idleness and on this basis start processes of modernizing the economy and changing its structure, Markovic said.

The main task of the new government's economic policy will be to curb economic stagnation and make the economy more dynamic. Establishing new structures must have priority in all fields, from the industry to intellectual services, Markovic stressed.

Markovic specified that in the development of the new economic structure, stress must be laid on setting up small-scale enterprises.

Markovic particularly underscored the necessity of so-called deregulation, i.e., the abolition of those laws and regulations which suppress the role of the market. It is necessary to deregulate everything that is not necessarily in the competency of the state, meaning the market of goods, capital and labour, he said.

The introduction and strengthening of the market in Yugoslavia should be made possible immediately in order to exclude the influence of the state in that field, Markovic said.

Markovic called for an "adequate inter-dependency in the distribution of income" but underscored that this and investments into development should primarily be left to the enterprises themselves.

Markovic did not threaten with austerity measures. He said wages should be increased in keeping with the market-value results of labour and increased productivity. Markovic is absolutely against wage-levelling.

The forming of mixed enterprises, where there will be various forms of ownership, will prompt socially-owned firms to more readily differentiate between good and bad workers and set up mechanisms for enhancing work and business motivation, Markovic said.

Also urged competitiveness between employed and unemployed workers, i.e. against the "monopolization of jobs" when it is obvious that someone is not suited for his job.

Yugoslavia should use development funds, including foreign capital, primarily in the form of joint ventures, Markovic said. For this reason it is necessary to issue securities and form a securities market in order to stimulate domestic and foreign investors, he said.

Markovic stressed that a money market should be formed in Yugoslavia as soon as possible and that a banking system should also be established in keeping with the possibilities offered by the Constitution.

Without a money market there can be no increase in the effective use of funds or a greater inclusion of citizens's funds in production, he said.

Talks with Yugoslavia's creditors, mainly with the International Monetary Fund, should be held on the basis of the new development concept, the setting up of a market and a new system, as well as on the basis of the new economic policy which focuses on motivation, Markovic said.

Creditors should support this policy because Yugoslavia's recovery will not only enable it to repay its debts but will also enable it to have normal communication with the international money market and this is in the interest of the creditors as well, Markovic said.

Yugoslavia should gradually open up and integrate into the world market and introduce international criteria on its market not only for goods, but know-how, capital and labour.

Yugoslavia must create scopes for competition between different types of ownership and economic entities—social, cooperative, private, joint, and even foreign, he said.

A further liberalization of prices and imports should be made on the commodities market, because this is a prerequisite for establishing a competitive market, he said.

Yugoslavia will maintain for a longer period its position towards integrations in Europe, as it is a European, Mediterranean and non-aligned country, he said.

He stressed that Yugoslavia will have to intensify its political dialogue with the E.C. The dialogue has already been established, but must be materialized through all-round industrial, transport, financial, ecological, scientific and other forms of cooperation.

Markovic said that a whole arsenal of measures was needed to curb galloping inflation, primarily changes both in the system and in the economic structure, stressing the need for a strong anti-inflationary monetary policy which therefore has to be restrictive.

Markovic warned that Yugoslavia is faced with an annual inflation rate of close to 1,000 percent, since the rate of inflation in February was 346 percent compared to the same month last year.

Speaking on internal policy, Markovic focused on the Kosovo problem and the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The most important thing is to eliminate the causes of the counter-revolution, to remove the consequences of accumulated distrust among nationalities and create conditions for a secure life and a common future, Markovic said.

The adoption of the amendments to the Constitutions of Serbia and the socialist autonomous provinces will create the necessary conditions for the successful and long-term stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, which Markovic underscored as a top priority task.

Markovic emphasized that the strengthening of the country's defense directly depended on the success of the reforms. He added that this is why the members of the Yugoslav People's Army were also "naturally interested" in the reforms. Markovic said his government would take all possible measures tt secure adequate financing for the Army.

In the part of his address devoted to foreign policy, Markovic highlighted the importance of the ninth non-aligned summit which is to be held in Belgrade next September.

"We are firmly committed to the summit's success and strengthening the position and role of the Non-Aligned Movement in world trends. Our non-aligned position also increases opportunities for Yugoslavia's stronger ties with Europe," Markovic concluded.

Central Committee Discusses Congress Preparations

AU1603161589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—A decision on the preparations, content, and holding of the congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] will be made at the next session of the LCY Central Committee (around 10 April). In the meantime, the necessary consultations will be carried out in the central and provincial committees of the League of Communists [LC]. The same session will also analyze the draft of the foundations for the transformation of the LCY which were formulated by a special working group of the LCY Central Committee, it was decided at today's session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The Presidium today discussed the concept for the preparations of the session of the highest party forum which will be devoted to the national issue and the state, problems and perspectives for interethnic relations in our country, as decided earlier. This subject, which will be on the agenda of the LCY Central Committee in the middle of May, will first be discussed by the LC central and provincial committees.

The general view is that the preparations for these sessions should not be carried out in a routine way. This involves an assessment of how much the principled stands of the LC concerning the national issue and interethnic relations are suited to social processes and problems and an analysis of differences in views and practice in the LCY and particularly of the serious confrontations and divergences within the LC. Preparations for the session and the session itself should contribute to what is called a creative Yugoslav synthesis of views and stands concerning these issues. The stands that will be taken by the LCY Central Committee must contribute to both the ideopolitical platform for working out the new constitution and the platform for preparations for the 14th LCY Congress.

The session today also examined the work of the committee LC organization in the organs and organizations of the federation, which includes some 15,000 Communists. In a short discussion, the opinion was expressed that the Statute should define the organization and the status of this committee more precisely. Some people equate it with a communal committee, but because of its specific position, others see it as a committee equal to central and provincial committees, or as a partner of the LCY Central Committee.

Considering that this committee embraces Communists who work in quite differing institutions and organs (ranging from conventional state administration to newspaper enterprises), considering that its national composition varies much and its professional potential is great, the relations in it reflect the relations in the LC in general to a great extent. In any case, it was concluded that greater working cooperation is needed between this committee and the LCY Presidium, and the Presidium will adopt positions on its obligations in this respect at one of its next sessions.

Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, informed the Presidium about the talks that were conducted during the recent working visit by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. The Presidium noted that the meeting between Suvar and Grosz was an expression of developed, traditionally good cooperation between the LCY and the MSZMP, and between the two neighboring socialist countries, and of the mutual interest in its further advancement. The mutual interest in a political dialogue and a more regular exchange of opinions and experiences is intensified at present by the reform processes in Yugoslavia and Hungary. The Presidium assessed that the talks were very useful and that such practice of working meetings between the highest representatives of the two parties should be made regular.

Colakovic Addresses SAWPY Presidium 15 Mar

LD1503141489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0606 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—It would be difficult to find a new argument that can essentially change what we know about the inefficiency of current economic and development policy, the difficulty of people's lives, the defeated destiny of all programs and measures to eradicate inflation, the blockage in the economic system, the damaging effects of the fusion of the political and the state apparatus on the country's economy, and the destructive consequences of republican and provincial isolation and divisions and their contribution to the destabilization of the country.

In contrast to this, the actions that have been undertaken in the SAWP and in society as a whole have not had any true repercussions or results. Because of this, the negative tendencies in development from recent years have been carried through into this year as well. Of particular concern is the overall fall in production, in productivity, and in the overall effectiveness of economic activity. In such conditions, with ever-increasing costs per unit of product, inflation is continuing to grow unrestrained, said Dr Bozidar Colakovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, in his introductory speech at today's session of SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium.

In expectation of the election of the new FEC, the announcement of the radical cutting of inflation and further changes in the economic system have provoked quite irrational behavior by producers. The producers who, by means of prices, wish to ensure the best possible position in the distribution of an increasingly small amount of disposable income, are provoking strong psychological inflation and fear among us all as to who is to bear the dangerous consequences of this behavior which, in essence, is economically unjustified.

These difficulties particularly affect the citizens and the economy in the underdeveloped parts of the country, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo. For years the accumulated dissatisfaction of working people and citizens, brought about by long-term political and economic crisis, has been brought to a climax. Strikes are increasingly frequent as an expression of profound dissatifaction among the workers and a lack of confidence that the situation in the economy will improve in the forseeable future, Colakovic noted.

Long-term inflation has degraded all the institutions and values of the political and economic system and has brought our workers and citizens to the brink of poverty. When faced with numerous problems, the priority of all environments and strata of society is the struggle against inflation and the boosting of economic activity.

Even a superficial assessment of the activity of the economic system and of economic results clearly shows that comprehensive reform of the economic system is the only real solution to our crisis. Restrictive measures, based on restricting spending and a permanent decrease in living standards, have not succeeded in halting inflation even by 1 percent. On the contrary, uncertainty and insecurity are made more profound by alarming prognoses about 4-figure inflation, which threatens to arrive before the end of the year. It is true that we do not all feel the burden of the crisis equally; however, few are spared.

The real struggle for reform still lies before us and we must persevere in our demands for economically justified and rational programs for the development of enterprises to be implemented, for all forms of spending to be once again reexamined, in particular budgetary spending, and for savings and reductions in income and expenditure to be planned, said Colakovic, adding that the greatest test for the realization of the reform lies in the readiness of all environments to draw up specific and effective social programs that will soften the first negative consequences of the reform. If this is not done the blame for holding up economic reform will be something noone can avoid.

For workers who are made unemployed because of the restructuring of the economy, the rationalization of business activity, reorganization, the introduction of new technology, and other qualitative changes in operations, we must, as rapidly as possible, open up new jobs in production. There is potential for this. Without much additional investment, and in a relatively short period, there are branches of the economy, such as small businesses, services, various forms of self-employment, cooperation, and similar areas, where it is possible to increase employment, according to Colakovic.

Of course in a state of deep economic crises, we do not have significant financial resources available for subsidies and compensation but it is also a fact that, above all, with goodwill and united political consensus, we can give up certain rights or certain less important things and find additional resources to improve living conditions for those who are expected to bear the greatest burden of the reform.

The Socialist Alliance, according to Colakovic, must not become reconciled to a situation where the right to set prices freely is usurped, resulting in monopolistic behavior. The free formation of prices presupposes normal market activity, with adequate competition, sufficient supply of goods and services, including the liberalization of imports. The SAWP will firmly oppose any interventions and attempts to "socialize" losses or the negative consequences of business activity in those enterprises where prices are formed freely, he warned, stressing that there must be an answer about the effects of the common elements that had been established for the formation of these prices. This is a question of products and services that create the greatest chain reactions with regard to living standards and that have pronounced inflationary effects.

When we are advocating free market activity in many areas, the question is raised at to whether the citizen-consumer might be left disenfranchised, accepting all the dictates of the market, as is the case today. All that is left now is for him to disapprove, for shortages and prices to impoverish and humiliate him, to make appeals, but to continue to put up with everything. All attempts at a so-called boycott of over-expensive goods are naive errors bearing no results whatsoever. The consumer cannot boycott buying bread, clothes, electricity, transport, and everything that represents basic everyday needs.

For this reason we should revive and make use of existing forms for the activity of organized consumers and must constantly seek new methods for their activity, noted the president of the SAWPY Federal Conference.

It is vital to carry out a clear differentiation between work and idleness, between knowledge and expertise and improvisation and the practice of the lowest common denominator and to struggle for the reexamination and improvement of the system of payment according to the work that has been done. Each useful initiative, discovery, or innovation that contributes to better results should be adequately evaluated and rewarded. In the same way, methods must be found to punish the idle employee, even with dismissal, stressed Colakovic. In the struggle for greater income the workers themselves must exclude from the production process all those who hinder them in this. We must not allow personal incomes to be turned into social welfare payments. They must depend in the most direct way upon the results of work and business activity.

In his lengthy speech, Colakovic went on to say that neither the SAWP nor any other sociopolitical organization will be able to assess its activity positively, neither will society be able to find a way out of the crises while there is an army of 1.5 million young, educated, and expert cadres without jobs. As many of them again are employed in unproductive ways, or go to make up the technological surplus, and over 1 million of our workers are employed abroad.

Unemployed, educated young people are ignored and forgotten by the society of which they are an inseparable part. Their basic right has been taken away from them, the right to work, and with it the right to self-management as the principle value of our system. Bearing this in mind, said Colakovic, I think that the time has come for us to understand that we must allow the development of all forms of property and must encourage every form of honest and useful work.

We must not allow a single one of our citizens temporarily working abroad, nor a single foreign partner, to give up investing in our economy because of the administrative-bureaucratic, often extremely irresponsible behavior by the competent structures, most frequently at the municipal level, but also in other sociopolitical communities, warned Colakovic, adding that we must finally begin to think of the development and advancement of agricultural production and tourism as priorities and as a condition for the successful implementation of the reform.

In crisis conditions we must clearly decide on development priorities and we must adapt development and current economic policy and measures to the realization of these priorities, stressed Colakovic, warning that there is an impermissible delay in passing some of the reform laws and regulations, and this must be done in the shortest possible period.

Economic reform in its entirety is a process that lasts decades but we cannot wait decades to cut inflation or to improve living standards. This must happen as soon as possible and we must achieve the first results this year. Only in this way can we restore the confidence of working people. Only with concrete results will we motivate them to work in a better and more productive way and strengthen their faith in the correctness of the programs and measures and of the entire economic reform. The time of preparations has passed; now is the time for implementing reforms, the time for an economic change of direction and for recovery.

We must not involve ourselves in demagoguery by promising prosperity without more work and commitment from all people in this country. In particular the undeveloped environments must work most and behave most rationally, because the crisis is so deep that even in the developed environments development is slowing down and the latter are no longer able to set aside resources in the quantities that they have up to now for the more rapid development of the underdeveloped. Everywhere, in every environment and place, reliance must be sought primarily on our own resources and inner reserves, stressed Colakovic.

The leaderships must set an example in restoring confidence in a possible way out of the crisis. Rigorous savings programs must be introduced immediately and implemented without delay, covering personal living standards, travel, business representations, the use of cars, and all other privileges. Everything must be publicly reported and accessible, not just to inspection, but also to public control. The strictest possible restrictions on budgets and extrabudgetary expenditure must be implemented energetically.

In all organs and organizations there must be an immediate end to ceaseless and unproductive meetings that only create the appearance that something is being done. We are irritating the working people with stories that do not bring results. We must publicly state how much this is costing the community and burdening production, and let the workers themselves, as the direct producers of wealth, judge and decide whether things can remain like this during a period of the greatest economic crisis.

Illustrating the economic situation, Colakovic said that general strikes are being announced in the textile industry, among educational workers; and in some other parts of the economy the situation is not much better. In Kosovo, the most undeveloped part of the country, we have in practice already had a general strike. This is pushing Kosovo into even deeper economic and political uncertainty.

In the existing political atmosphere the solution of economic problems is made very much more difficult. Today the dissatisfaction of workers is being manipulated for political ends. The working class is divided on national lines, and class consciousness is pushed into the background. Unfortunately, there are forces in all parts of the country which, in some places openly, and in some covertly, but which are politically skillful and perfidious, are trying to exploit the serious economic situation in the country to put forward antisocialist and anti-Yugoslav stances.

For this reason urgent political stabilization and unity in the country are an unconditional necessity for economic progress to which the SAWP must make its full contribution, stressed Colakovic.

Since, to a large extent, it has grown apart from the people, the SAWP can regain its standing only if it opposes every form of dogmatism, bureaucracy, nationalism, and counterrevolution; if it shows a greater attentiveness to the demands, needs, and progressive aspirations of this society, and if it acknowledges all the democratic and other rights that constitutionally belong to the working man and citizen and enables him to achieve them.

In order to achieve this, in order to set in motion, lead, and coordinate social action, it is essential to have a more dynamic, more creative, more active, more independent, and above all, a more democratic socialist alliance, concluded Dr Bozidar Colakovic.

It is necessary once again to warn of the immense consequences, not just political but also economic, of the general strike in Kosovo, said Colakovic. The economic damage is enormous and is seriously threatening the already unfavorable economic situation and living standard of people in the province. It must be pointed out to every worker in Kosovo that failing to work and striking, endangers his own existence and the life of his own family. They must be openly told that the enemy is undermining in a calculated way the economic foundations of the country, and that they themselves must suffer the increasingly serious consequences if they do not immediately and without hesitation get down to work.

It must also be pointed out without doubt, Colakovic continued, that Kosovo, regardless of the constant investment from the already impoverished Yugoslav working class, will remain the least developed part of the country if it does not understand that today the most effective type of economic reform in the province is demographic reform. It must be understood that the current natural population growth is blocking the development of Kosovo. Among the Albanian population the awareness must finally prevail that the struggle for family planning is the greatest development resource, the form of economic and social investment with the best return, said Colakovic.

Kosovo Situation Still 'Complex,' 'Difficult'

LD1703040189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—The political and security situation in Kosovo is still very complex and difficult. Work stoppages in the Stari Trg mine and flotation, in other mines in the province, and in a greater number of work organizations, and stoppages of lectures in greater number of schools and faculties burden the situation further.

The session of the Coordination Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference made these assessments today. The session also noted that the previous events showed that their basic aim was complete paralysis of the work of organizations, organs, and institutions of the system, that is, of the entire public order. [passage omitted]

TU Leaders Urge Kosovo Workers To Resume Work

LD1603211889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1944 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav trade union leadership on Thursday urged workers in Kosovo to immediately resume work and thus prevent further damage to the economy of this province, the country as a whole, themselves and their families.

The trade union leadership issued a statement calling on Yugoslav workers to overcome inter-ethnic divisions and animosities and to [word indistinct] instead on the vital questions of the economic and social reform and the struggle for higher income and profits as the only perspective for a democratic way out of the crisis and an end to galloping inflation (currently running at 346.3 per cent).

The leadership also urged all trade union organs and organizations to uphold the struggle for political, economic and overall stabilization of the situation in Kosovo and the country as a whole through an expansion of economic and other forms of cooperation between enterprises.

Particular emphasis was placed on the fact that all possible future attempts at manipulating workers by Albanian separatists and at disrupting the country's (?constitution) [words indistinct] be prevented.

This position was evidently prompted by the February strikes in Kosovo which, as was officially assessed, were the result of manipulation of ethnic Albanian workers and miners by separatists for their political objectives.

Stari Trg, Goles Miners Remain on Strike

LD1703094989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0815 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—The Stari Trg mine is still not working today and preparations are being made for the safest possible resumption of lead and zinc ore mining. At the moment a total of about 10 workers, who are working on pump maintenance, are at work.

Production has also been halted for several days at the Goles magnesite mine. Last night the third shift failed to turn up for work, while workers on the first shift this morning merely collected their monthly personal incomes and then returned home.

At the "Kisnica i Novo Brdo" mine most workers of Albanian nationality are not working.

TU Council Criticizes Kosovo Trade Unions

LD1303141489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—During the November and February events as well as during the process of constitutional change, the Kosovo trade union organization displayed many shortcomings in its activity. This was the assessment made during the session of the Council of the Federation of Kosovo Trade Unions today by Rade Milojevic who read the introductory report.

Having urged that cadre renewal in this organization be fully carried out, he said that cadre change must be carried out with similar resolve among the leaderships of most trade union municipal and basic organizations. This applies especially to the environments which during the February events were the "centers" of protest and of rallies and demonstrations, said Milojevic, mentioning Trepca, Titova Mitrovica, [name indistinct,] and Urosevac Municipality as a whole, Printeks and Komuna in Prizren, the car spare parts factory in Pec, Balkan in Suva Reka, and the school centers and university in Pristina.

Kosovo Union, Youth Officials View Situation

LD1103211489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 11 (TANJUG)—In the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, where special measures have been introduced by the Yugoslav State Presidency because of eight-day strikes and demonstrations staged by ethnic Albanians, ethnic Albanian miners today worked in several mines only. Therefore, the Kosovo trade union leadership assessed that the priority task is to restore normal operation in all mines.

The Kosovo trade union leadership stressed that it is particularly important to start work in the Stari Trg mine, not only for economic, but political reasons, too. Namely, obeying the dictate of Albanian chauvinists and separatists, ethnic Albanian miners employed in the Stari Trg mine staged an eight-day sit in at the end of the last month.

Because of the situation it is expected that the Yugoslav State Presidency will introduce a compulsory work order in all Kosovo mines.

The Kosovo trade union leadership assessed that the battle for Yugoslavia is being fought in the province because Albanian chauvinists and separatists have achieved, by indoctrinating ethnic Albanians, a national homogenisation with a platform contrary to the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY).

The Kosovo trade union leadership assessed that one of the basic demands made by the Stari Trg ethnic Albanian miners that the fundamental principles of the Yugoslav Constitution adopted in 1974 not be changed was only a pretext for blocking changes of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia whose integral part Kosovo is. Albanian chauvinists and separatists have used the changes in the Serbian Constitution to launch the thesis on an alleged annulment of Kosovo's autonomy and for various other deceits.

President of the Serbian Trade Union Federation Tomislav Milenkovic who attended the session of the Kosovo Trade Union leadership, stressed that in stabilising the situation in Kosovo, political action and explanations alone are inadequate because a political dialogue is impossible with an enemy.

Member of the Kosovo Presidency Bajram Selani stressed in today's talk with Stari Trg Communists that the fear felt by individuals who are not responsible for the situation in the mine is groundless because only the guilty will have to answer for their acts. He added that when he visited the miners striking in Stari Trg, he saw that some had wanted to come out, but were prevented by the organisers and instigators of the sit-in.

Besides Kosovo Party official Azem Vlasi, Trepca director Aziz Abrasi and manager of the Stari Trg mine, which is within the Trepca mining-metallurgy complex, Zuhan Kavaja were also arrested recently on suspicion of having been involved in the staging in last November and February strikes and demonstrations.

The youth leadership of Kosovo's capital Pristina stressed at its session today that it no longer has confidence in the Kosovo youth leadership since it supported the Stari Trg miners' (?ultimatum) demands.

Referring to the strike in Stari Trg, Pristina youth president Goran Stijovic said it showed that Albanian chauvinists and separatists were prepared to sacrifice everything but themselves to achieve their goals which are aimed at breaking up Yugoslavia.

The Kosovo youth has been indoctrinated by Albanian chauvinists and separatists for years. The youth was used for testing various misinformation and for planting the thesis that the position of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo was being jeopardized, Stijovic said.

Yugoslavia is strong because, when it introduced special measures in Kosovo, it showed its determination to defend every inch of its territory, war veterans and reserve offices of the Kosovo town of Ozilic said at their meeting today, adding that all those against these measures are also against Yugoslavia.

Pristina Student Center Gradually Normalizing

LD1503201189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1806 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The political and security situation at the Pristina student center is gradually getting back to normal. All the students returned to their hostels and 6,500 to 7,000 of them are using the refectories, it was stated at today's session of the council of the Pristina University student center.

The communique adds that the council, having examined the political and security situation, appointed Velimir Nedeljkovic acting director of the student center in Pristina.

Albanian Students Boycott Lessons With Silence

LD1403190589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Prizren, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—About 600 Albanian schoolchildren attending afternoon classes at the Jovanka Radivojevic secondary education center in Prizren have been boycotting the classes with silence. Schoolchildren sit in their classrooms but do not react to roll calls and do not to reply to questions.

The reasons for the boycott were stressed to be the aircraft frequently flying over the school, causing unbearable noise and disrupting the lessons. The Albanian schoolchildren are also asking to be equated with those who are attending classes in Serbo-Croatian. Despite the agreement by the teachers council to vigorously suppress the boycott, the teachers of this educational center were not successful. However, when one of them threatened the children, they immediately ended the boycott.

Serbian Presidium Discusses Situation in Kosovo

LD1503201889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The situation in Kosovo continues to be difficult, but it is an encouraging fact that the activity of the Kosovo LC leadership and Communists has intensified. This is the most important assessment to come from yesterday's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, chaired by Slobodan Milosevic, at which the current political and security in Kosovo was examined.

Full support was given at the session to the "assessments of and stands on the current political and security situation in the Social Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and the tasks of the LC," which were adopted by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee [PC] Presidium at its session on 13 March. Introductory reports were submitted by Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC PC Presidium and Milomir Minic, executive secretary of the Serbian LC CC Presidium, the communique from the session stresses.

The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium noted that the November gatherings and demonstrations as well as the February strikes in Kosovo unmasked the alliance between bureaucracy and Albanian nationalism. Their aim was to prevent the constitutional changes in Serbia and ensure that Serbia did not carry out its state functions in its entire territory, while at the same time opposing the LCY policy, preventing the consistent ideopolitical differentiation, the establishment of individual responsibility for failure to implement the LCY policy, and obstructing cadre renewal.

United, bureaucracy and Albanian nationalists wanted at all costs to maintain an opportunistic attitude in the struggle against separatism as well as the status quo in the province. The miners and the national interests of those of Albanian nationality were abused for this purpose and workers, students, and youth were also manipulated. The evil intentions of nationalists and separatists were unmasked, while the determined approach of the renewed Kosovo LC Central Committee leadership helped strengthen and unite the forces that are fighting for the policy of the LC.

Such an approach destroys the policy of "Kosovo a Republic" and of an ethnically pure Kosovo, that is, the policy that directly jeopardizes Yugoslavia's territorial integrity.

Within the Kosovo political leadership, support has been created in terms of a front of common struggle of progressive forces, members of all nations and nationalities, and the important task now is to develop and expand this front and restore intranational trust. The primary task is to intensify activity, implement the tasks and the established policy of the LC on Kosovo and develop mass political work among the people.

Communist Albanians now have the most important and most responsible tasks in the ideopolitical struggle, which is continuing. Numerous examples of many progressive Albanians who are fighting for the LCY policy best illustrate to what extent it is unjust and irresponsible to attribute the crimes of Albanian separatists to the entire Albanian population. No one has the right to do that and it is the duty of Communists to resolutely oppose any such attempt.

For this reason any attempt to foment anti-Albanian sentiments and deepen intra-national confrontations and on this basis prevent the realization of the LCY policy on Kosovo must be nipped in the bud.

For this reason the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium stresses in particular that, in view of all the past events, the creation of an anti-Albanian mood must not be allowed. The justified anger and condemnation of the public are directed at the organizers who took advantage of the miners for their own dark political aims and not at the miners themselves and certainly not at those of Albanian nationality.

The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium maintains that the present ideopolitical activity and work of comrades Ali Sukrija, Rahman Morina, and Husamedin Azemi is no grounds for their resignations because they proved themselves to be consistent fighters for LCY policy. The Presidium gave full support to the decision by the Kosovo LC PC Presidium that Rahman Morina should retain the office of the president of the PC Presidium, it is stated at the end of the communique.

Serbia Nominates Presidency Candidates

AU1503133589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade—The delegates of the Republican Nomination Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia have nominated three candidates for the position of member of the SFRY Presidency from Serbia. The candidates are Borisav Jovic, Slobodan Unkovic, and Aleksandar Bakocevic. The order of the candidates has been determined by the number of votes received by them.

The Serbian Assembly will express its opinion on these candidates. During the secret vote today, only Borisav Jovic received the necessary two-thirds majority in the first round, from among the four candidates originally proposed. The voting was repeated, and it was only in the third round that Slobodan Unkovic and Aleksandar Bakocevic received the necessary number of votes.

Montenegrin Presidency Candidates Listed

LD1303140989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1314 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Titograd, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—During their session on 17 March the delegates of the Montenegrin Assembly will elect the new seven-member republican presidency from a list of 14 candidates. Six candidates for this office were nominated earlier while the remaining eight were chosen during today's session of the SAWP candidacy conference from a list of 12 names.

The candidates for members of the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro are Dr Milos Radulovic, Dr Ljubisa Stankovic, Dr Branko Kostic, Jusuf Kalamperovic, Dr Dusan Martinovic, Vasilije Milutinovic, Ljiljana Popovic, Radovan Bakic, Behudin Halilbegovic, Velizar Skerovic, Nikola Samardzic, Bozidar Zekovic, Mladjen Skobalj, and Drago Vucinic.

In an open vote the candidacy conference today named three candidates for the office of the president of the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro. They are: Dr Milos Radulovic, Dr Ljubisa Stankovic, and Dr Branko Kostic.

Continuing Boycott of Slovene Goods Viewed

AU1303181389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 89 p 2

[Jasna Kesic commentary: "The Political Color of Money"]

[Text] "At the time of crises which force people to chose one of the several courses of action, the majority will chose the worst possible course." Perhaps this semi-true Murphy's law on why things go wrong illustrates best the absurd things that recently happened in this country, for it is almost impossible to find a logical explanation.

The workers of the Vulcan rubber combine at Nis recently decided to leave the Sava group of Kranj as a sign of protest at the Slovene leadership's stand concerning the latest events in Kosovo....

The workers of the Napredak pig farm from Stara Pazova refused to load meat onto trucks destined for Pomurka....

The citizens of Belgrade are withdrawing their savings from the Bank of Ljubljana en masse. Several hundred employees of this subsidiary in Belgrade demanded that the bank leave the Bank of Ljubljana.

The director of the Jugoeksport work organization sent a letter to 88 Slovene partners warning them that the number of joint ventures could substantially decrease unless they publicly react to the meeting in the Cankar Hall....

After all, was this—what openly or secretly exists within the people from the communities which have issued these warnings—not expressed at a recent meeting of the Serbian Writers Association by the 80-year-old bard Oskar Davico, who said: "And therefore I will not, I will no longer visit Ljubljana shops, I will boycott them. They took our wheat, copper, grapes...in order to sell us their shampoo made under German license and refrigerators manufactured under Italian license." As one can see, a strong poetic metaphor joined in the confused concept of an economic boycott. However, one can forgive poets, but economists' criteria, we are convinced, should be based on a completely different logic.

What is happening? Have the political quarrels been transferred to the economy, and are they threatening to shut us in the statist ghettos of "our" republics and provinces?

True, confining trade to the regional framework is not a new "invention." Yugoslavia has known this for a long time, and Slovenia leads the way in this. Belgrade department stores, for instance, have not been able to find "suitable" premises in Ljubljana for a long time. The Belgrade Beer Brewery has not had much success in penetrating the Slovene market in the last 20 years. In Slovenia it is difficult to find cigarettes from Nis, or mineral water other than Radenska mineral water. There are many other examples.

It would be unfair, however, not to say that others also fenced themselves off. For instance, during the 1970's Slovenia sold 70 percent of its products in other republics and provinces, and the remaining 30 percent stayed "at home" or were exported. The situation is reversed today. About 70 percent of the products stay in the republic.

The isolationism of one republic can in no way justify the isolationism of others. All instances of isolationism inspired by politics have always led us to a deep economic crisis. The idea of boycotting Slovene goods and economic cooperation is totally ludicrous from the economic point of view, because it will only contribute to the eradication of the very few remaining joint elements in the Yugoslav market.

When politics interferes where it does not belong, then many irrational things happen: The consumer rejects products not because of their inferior quality or price, but because they are produced by the people for whom he has little respect.

It is obvious that this is an exclusively political aspect of closing off the market, something that has been inspired by the aggravation of interethnic relations. Politics has gone beyond common sense and interfered in the most pragmatic field of economics—the field of goods and money. This represents the polarization of those relations that are not ideologized in any system in the world.

Nobody will benefit from the boycott: neither the consumers who face a limited choice of products, nor the producers who are the least responsible for the growing nationalism. The only people who will be satisfied are those who want to make the Yugoslav peoples quarrel, because they will use this situation to promote their ideas.

Isolationism and boycott also have nothing in common with the gradual acceptance of the civilized achievement called the market, an achievement that is ideologically, politically, and nationally completely neutral. This kind of behavior unfortunately confirms the fear that we are still a long way from accepting what is the precondition for the economic reform, namely that the economy should rise above ideology and politics, and that it cannot be used to promote the market only when this suits some politicians.

Perhaps one should not generalize about boycotts, but they invariably illustrate the extent to which the means are used to justify some (political) end. Whether the newly created political situation will prevent the reform, whether national and nationalist elements will be more important than a crucial turnabout, remains to be seen.

Slovene Candidates Selected for SFRY Presidency

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[Summary] Ljubljana, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—In preliminary voting at municipal candidates' conferences, Marko Bulc, Janez Drnovsek, and Gojko Stanic have emerged as candidates for the Slovene member in the SFRY Presidency. On 14 March delegates will elect two of these and on 2 April the Slovene member of the SFRY Presidency will be elected.

Slovene Alliances' View on Pluralism Noted

AU1103184189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 89 p 5

[V. Simonovic and D. Draskovic article: "How the New Alliances and Parties Affect the Transformation of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia: Front Without a Vanguard"]

[Text] The recently formed Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia has made its joining the Socialist Alliance of the Working People [SAWP] conditional upon its request that the SAWP Statute should delete all the provisions that give the League of Communists [LC] a privileged position. The Slovene Democratic Alliance formally joined the front framework, but it also makes its actual membership in the SAWP conditional upon a transformation of the SAWP. All the alternative organizations and alliances, be they formally in the front or outside it, have once again shown with the formation of a joint constitutional council and a commission for drafting a new constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia that they do not want to work in the SAWP as it is today.

New Statute for New Parties

The document, "The SAWP and Political Pluralism," which is under public discussion at present, shows that with its organization, the SAWP has not satisfied the SAWP leadership, either, and it announces, as one of the priority tasks, the drafting of a new SAWP Program and Statute. As the road to the new documents cannot be short, and there are more and more new alliances and there will probably be even more, it was decided in the meantime to change some of the provisions of the present statute as soon as posible.

The basis of these changes (the proposal was prepared by the Council for SAWP Organization and Development) is the deletion of the privileged position of the LC, which is the condition set by the newly formed alliances.

The Slovene Democratic Alliance says that the SAWP organization is adjusted to the role of being an LC transmission belt, or rather that its task is to mobilize people in implementing the LC program and policy. However, they would wish to implement their own program in the SAWP, the essence of this program being the introduction of parliamentary pluralism. They point out that there is no place for them in the present framework. The existing SAWP Statute for them does not represent a basis for a true transformation of the SAWP, and therefore they did not make any proposals for amending or supplementing it.

The Social Democrats have not agreed even formally to join the SAWP as long as the LC has a privileged position in it. In order to be able to hold their founding meeting, they sent a statement to the Ljubljana Secretariat for Internal Affairs (which threatened to ban them because of their refusal to join the front) that they agree to join the SAWP as an autonomous political organization or party under the condition that they are assured full autonomy, independence and equality with other sociopolitical organizations. The meeting was held and the very next day the leadership of the new party declared that it wrote the statement under duress and that practically it does not have any meaning for them. They say that they will negotiate with the SAWP about the conditions they set, which are as follows: they demand that the privileged position of the LC should be deleted from the basic principles of the SAWP Statute, and they also demand changes of some provisions of the Statute and the Rules of Procedure that refer to the manner in which conclusions are adopted in the front organs, and a change in the elections or the nomination procedure within the SAWP.

The dissatisfaction of the Social Democratic Alliance with what is offered by the SAWP can be seen from the words of its leader, France Tomsic, who expressed his surprise that his organization was offered only one or two places in the front's commission preparing a new constitution, considering that it would garner as many as 50 percent of votes at a parliamentary election. Tomsic of course did not explain how he reached this figure.

Deletion of the LC

At one of its coming sessions, the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia will set up a working group to draft a new statute. Some proposals have been formulated for a different statute position of the LC and other sociopolitical organizations, and for the setting up of formal conditions so that representatives of the new alliances may join the SAWP Conference. The SAWP Council for the Organization and Development thus proposes that a passage should be deleted from the first point of the fundamental principles in the Statute; this is the passage which says that working people and citizens in the SAWP strive in an organized way for "the implementation of the socioeconomic and political aims and relations outlined in the LC Program...." It is also proposed to fully delete the third point of the fundamental principles which, among other things, says that the sociopolitical organizations, headed by the LC as the vanguard of the workers class, ensure a self-managing socialist development, and that all the programs must be in accordance with the LC Program. This point among other things also determines the roles of other sociopolitical organizations.

A completely new text is proposed for the third point: "The sociopolitical organizations have the right and the duty in the SAWP, as a constituent part of it, to participate in the adoption of all its stances and conclusions. The relations among them and other social organizations, societies, and associations are based on their independence, equal cooperation, and mutual rights and obligations." From the fifth point, or rather from the sentence "...The basis for the harmonization of the stances are the ideopolitical foundations of the basic documents of the SAWP and the LC," it is proposed to delete the words "and the LC." It is also envisaged to change the decision on the formation, the criteria, and the number of members of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia, which should make room for the representatives of the newly formed alliances. According to the present proposal, they should prevail in all five places in the SAWP Republican Conference.

Bearing in mind the programs and statements by the representatives of the new alliances, it is difficult to expect that they will be satisfied with what the SAWP offers them. On the other hand, nobody asks the question whether all of these alliances—considering that the SAWP does not intend to change its basic aims for the time being—may join the SAWP even after such changes. The fundamental principles of the SAWP Statute, for instance, contain the passage (which nobody now intends to change) that "the SAWP of Slovenia is a voluntary and democratic alliance based on socialist self-management...."

The Social Democrats, however, clearly say that they are not in favor of socialism or self-management.

Croatian Social Liberals Present Program

AU1603214689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Mar 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "A Federation Through Consensus"]

[Text] The program declaration of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance [CSLA] proceeds from an assessment of the "historical failure and complete exhaustion of communist systems to date and of the single-party rule of society." "In Yugoslavia, as the long-term crisis reaches its heated culmination, uneasy impotence and a dangerous wandering are ruling the country. A new centralism, a renewal of monolithism, and populist homogeneity are offered as a way out of the situation, which in the unforseeable future would break off our participation in the life of modern civilization. Convinced that our obligation and duty is to oppose such a situation and its even worse totalitarian prospects, we are founding the CSLA," it is said at the beginning of the program declaration.

The program of the CSLA otherwise proceeds from the principle that the only free community is the one in which each individual is free and socially secure. This means that the CSLA will represent an individualistic world view in which the individual is the highest value. As is stressed, the CSLA will "advocate the establishment of a legal state in which the law and justice will be the highest norms in the conduct of citizens and not ideological monopoly and party self-will. In order to achieve this aim, the CSLA will support: political pluralism; a multi-party and parliamentary system; the strict division of power; and the independence of the judiciary; as well as a free commodity market and freedom of the work and capital market. It will also support a mixed economy with a developed small businesses sector and neo-corporate forms of association, the participation and self-management of workers, and free trade union association.

It is stated that the CSLA will mostly cooperate closely with the already founded Slovene Democratic Alliance and the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, as well as with movements and groups which will appear in our political life.

It states further that the CSLA "will support its program in a balanced way and will gradually implement it through legal institutions and above all through the Socialist Alliance of the Working People [SAWP] of Croatia, and will strive for the transformation of the SAWP of Croatia into a people's alliance of equal political organizations. It will propose constitutional, political, economic, and social reforms, primarily aimed at resolving the present overall crisis in Yugoslav society." In this context, it is also stressed that the "program of the CSLA expresses the democratic and European tradition and orientation of Croatia, as well as the desire of the Croatian people and the Serbian people in Croatia to achieve mutual understanding, harmony, and links with all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia on the basis of respect for peculiarities in full equality and freedom."

As far as the national question is concerned, the CSLA "proceeds from the standpoint that the national question in Yugoslavia can only be resolved through federalism which is based on consensus with the right of peoples to self-determination, as far as secession. The federal institutions are responsible only for what is agreed on through consensus, while everything else is under the jurisdiction of the republics."

At the end of the program declaration, it is stated that "the CSLA will continually advocate Croatia's keeping alive its affiliation to European culture and civilization, and its continued development in line with this affiliation, preserving its uniqueness and advocating a European orientation for Yugoslavia. The ultimate aim is complete integration into the technological, economic, scientific, and cultural life of Europe."

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